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# Latin America Report

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18 AUGUST 1986

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CARICOM REPORT CITES SHORTCOMINGS OF, PROPOSALS FOR CBI

FL222017 Bridgetown CANA in English 1450 GMT 22 Jul 86

[By Paget de Freitas]

[Text] Kingston, 22 Jul (CANA)--Caribbean countries, having pinned their hopes for rapid export growth on Washington's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) are becoming disillusioned by soft markets for their products and growing American protectionism that is eroding benefits, regional experts have found.

And Caribbean Community (Caricom) nations would like to see changes in the CBI that would stimulate American investment and multilateral aid.

The CBI was launched in January 1984 with much fanfare by the Americans and expectations on the part of beneficiary countries in Central America and the Caribbean, particularly the 13-member Caricom group.

The experts, in a report commissioned by the Caricom secretariat and presented to Caricom leaders at their summit in Guyana this month, argue that both Americans and regional officials might have been guilty of not lowering their sights after President Ronald Reagan's initial proposals had gone through the Congressional and special interest mill to produce the final package.

The CBI is a 12-year one-way free trade arrangement for goods from the region. But by the time it was launched, a number of products which the Caribbean believed it could rapidly increase exports of had been eliminated--textiles, apparel, a wide range of leather goods, some fish products and petroleum and petroleum products.

Additionally, a proposal to give American firms investing in the Caribbean a 10 percent tax credit was cut out. Aid levels suggested by the region have also not been met.

There has been some increase in exports of (CBI) eligible products by (beneficiary) countries, Caricom technocrats said in a report considered by community leaders at this month's summit in Georgetown, Guyana. A trend, however, has not been established as the increase attained in 1984 was not maintained in 1986.

In fact, overall export to the U.S. by CBI countries have declined since 1983, with the rapid fall-off in traditional exports such as bauxite, petroleum and sugar placing a heavy burden on the non-trationals.

According to U.S. trade statistics, Caricom countries eligible with CBI status last year sold U.S 1,926.7 million dollars to the United States. That was approximately the same amount as in 1983 and U.S. 266.8 million dollars less than in 1984.

According to the regional trade experts, Caribbean exports to the U.S. have fallen every year since 1981 with the exception of 1984.

In 1985, export total was 31 percent below the 1981 level and 10 percent below that of 1982, they pointed out.

It is within this scenario that since 1983 bauxite exports to the U.S. from Caricom countries has fallen over 60 percent, petroleum by more than 40 percent and sugar by 30 percent. These products traditionally make up about 85 percent of the region's exports.

A 42 percent expansion in non-traditional exports between 1983 and 1984, to U.S. 903.7 million dollars, helped off-set the loss in petroleum as well as buaxite and sugar--the former suffering from slack markets and the latter from quota adjustments.

However, by last year this category of export was down to U.S. 630.8 million dollars, a 30.2 percent drop over a year earlier and one percent below that of 1983.

Experts say that the initial rapid climb in CBI eligible products from Caricom had to be seen in relationship to a 46 percent growth in tital U.S. imports from the rest of the world between 1983-85--a fact partly responsible for the growing protectionist mood in Washington.

With that mood about, some CBI eligible products have come under threat, the most prominent being ethanol, now being promoted in Jamaica, and with plans to utilize feed stock from Belize.

These challenges...have created a general environment of uncertainty about the CBI and the incentives provided thereunder for expansion of investment and exports, the regional trade experts observed in their review.

This is particularly worrisome given the decline in regional economies as their exports earnings have fallen, in face of worsening terms of trade for traditionals and their inability to build up new sectors at the pace required.

Most of the regional governments, as part of their economic adjustment programmes, have had to implement austerity measures, resulting in falling living standards and fewer social services.

When the CBI was first mooted as a multilateral effort between the United States, Canada, Mexico and Colombia, the region had a combined deficit on

current account in the balance of payments of half a billion American dollars. By 1983 that had moved to U.S. 1.8 billion dollars, but the painful corrective measures had pulled this back to U.S. 1.2 billion dollars in 1984.

In 1981 also the region estimated that Caricom countries would require additional inflows of U.S. 1.46 billion dollars to achieve the desirable growth rate of 3-5 percent a year between 1982-86.

But the Caricom review experts noted that inflow of capital funds from external sources had not been enough to narrow the gap on the overall balance of payments account, leading to the restrictive policies of community nations. The result has been a blow to both imports and exports.

With the CBI legislation in 1983, U.S. 75 million dollars in supplemental aid of a total U.S. 350 million dollars came to the Caricom group.

That brought total aid to the group during its 1982 fiscal year up to 224 million dollars, a more than 100 percent increase over the previous year.

However, that momentum has not been maintained, and aid levels to Caricom dropped 21 percent in 1983, against an increase of 31 percent to the CBI region as a whole. Since then, the pattern has been up and down, and for 1986 the allocation was back down to the 1983 levels.

It is the smaller countries of the East Caribbean without the infrastructure to make best use of CBI benefits that have been hurt most. Jamaica, with its close ties to Washington, has gained significant American assistance, totalling over U.S. 700 million dollars since 1980.

This relative decline of priority of Caricom in U.S. aid in the CBI has been occurring at a time when official transfers have been playing an increasing role in total external financing for the region, the experts pointed out. At present concessional inflows are probably accounting for over 50 percent of total flows into the region.

Confronted with this bleak picture, the Caricom experts suggested that the U.S. should reverse the trend toward protectionism, but under the CBI those products which were originally excluded, increase the region's sugar quota and drop or refund the internal revenues imposed on rum imports. [as received]

They also called for the 10 percent tax credit to be given to American investors willing to come to the region and for the U.S. to significantly increase the volume of financial assistance for the period up to 1990.

An increased proportion of American aid should go toward development, particularly infrastructural projects to support production and exports and for aid to be also channelled through regional institutions, such as the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) and for programmes such as trade credit facilities.

American aid to the Caribbean under the conservative Reagan administration has largely been bilateral.

In the Caricom countries themselves, the climate, arrangements and facilities for inducing and encouraging investment--foreign and regional--have not been conducive to a rapid investment thrust, the experts complained.

The Caricom countries need to keep under constant review their policies for economic management, including those relating to consumption and investment, especially investment in productive ventures, they said.

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RADIO PANEL DISCUSSES CARIBBEAN FEDERATION ISSUE

FL181553 Bridgetown CANA in English 1421 GMT 18 Jul 86

[By Yussuff Haniff]

[Text] Bridgetown, 18 Jul (CANA)--Three influential Caribbean figures last night agreed that a Caribbean political union was desirable, but differed on just how readily attainable is the goal of a single West Indian country.

Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica ruled out such a union in the immediate future. I don't think it could be a reality now. I think we've missed the boat.

But Oliver Jackman, a retired Barbadian diplomat, now a freelance writer, dismissed the notion that the opportunity is gone. ...I'm not certain we've missed the boat. I suspect that we haven't actually discovered where the boat is.

Dean of the law faculty of the University of the West Indies (UWI) here, Prof Nicholas Liverpool, declaring himself an eternal optimist, affirmed: I have very great hope.... It can become a reality if the politicians in power have the will....

The trio was participating in a Caribbean-wide radio phone-in programme on the subject of a Caribbean political union. The programme, originating in the radio studios of the Barbados-based Caribbean News Agency (CANA), was aired by stations in Jamaica, Barbados, St Lucia, Dominica and St Vincent.

Charles, the region's lone woman prime minister, was the most pessimistic of the panelists last night, pointing to such inherent obstacles as a reluctance by independent English-speaking Caribbean states to relinquish their newly-found sovereignty and citing, too, the still considerable work to be done to persuade ordinary Caribbean people of the desirability of a political union.

The Dominican leader pointed to the high cost of education at UWI to underscore her insistence that careful costing of a union would be an essential prerequisite to selling the idea to the Caribbean populace.

Both Jackman, a former Barbados ambassador to the United States, and Liverpool agreed that much work needed to be done to prepare the way for a political

union, although Jackman noted that since the breakup of the most recent West Indian federation (1958-62), contact among the islands had intensified considerably.

Liverpool stressed the need for working towards the objective of a political union, without necessarily fixing a specific time frame. ...One doesn't see Caribbean political union with the next five years, or ten years or any number of years...but let the politicians express the will. Let all men and women of goodwill get together and start aiming at that goal which is eventual political unity, Liverpool added.

Jackman, for years Barbados' ambassador to the Organisation of American States (OAS), was emphatic in his submission that any modern-day movement towards West Indian political union must, at least initially, exclude Jamaica.

There are certain realities which seem to me to be inescapable. We are West Indians. We are all West Indians. I think that we have to bear in mind...one of the major reasons for the failure of the first federation was essentially the fact that Jamaica was in it. ...Jamaica really doesn't belong to this part of the West Indies...the first concept of any new attempt at union must, by definition, exclude Jamaica, he insisted.

This was an apparent reference to Jamaica's 1961 pull-out of the earlier federal experiment, which started its collapse.

Jackman said he believed the time had come for Caribbean leaders to declare that a political union is something which we think is good, desirable, and necessary for the survival of our independence as West Indian states.

he said that they should publicly commit themselves to moving towards a political union with all deliberate speed. Once that is done, then that absolutely necessary programme of education...can begin, Jackman added.

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INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

OECS SECURES \$6 MILLION LOAN FOR IDA FOR TRAINING

FL211931 Bridgetown CANA in English 1656 GMT 21 Jul 86

[Text] St Georges, 20 Jul (CANA)--Grenada's Labour Minister Dr Francis Alexis says that the International Development Agency (IDA) of the World Bank is prepared to make available to the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OES) a loan of six million U.S. dollars.

Alexis, who is now in the United States, made the announcement following discussions he had with officials of the Washington-based World Bank and the IDA, a Grenada Government Information Service (GIS) statement said.

The loan would be earmarked for technical and vocational training in member countries of the OECS, the GIS quoted Alexis as saying.

The OECS comprises seven countries: Grenada, St Lucia, Dominica, St Kitts and Nevis, Antigua and Barbuda, Montserrat and St Vincent.

The Grenada minister said one of the conditions for obtaining the loan is that counterpart funding would have to be sought and that he intends to discuss the conditions of the loan with OECS governments and the Barbados-based Caribbean Development Bank (CDB).

Last year, Grenada was able to help the financiers of a local hotel sign an agreement with the IDA to secure 6 million dollars to help renovate a luxury hotel in the south of the island.

Alexis has also held talks in the U.S. with officials of the State Department, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Department of Labour and the International Monetary Fund.

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CARIBBEAN MINISTERS OF AGRICULTURE STUDY DIVERSIFICATION

FL172327 Bridgetown CANA in English 2223 GMT 17 Jul 86

[Text] Kingstown, 17 Jul (CANA)--Prime Minister of St Vincent and the Grenadines James Mitchell today questioned the role of regional agricultural organisations in assisting farmers in the Caribbean.

Mitchell, who was addressing a special meeting of Caricom Agriculture Ministers, said it was time for the regional bodies to consciously move in new directions in identifying new varieties and crops.

I would like to throw out certain questions to these organisations. How many new varieties, if any, have they identified for farmers in this region? Are they aware of what is going on in the exotic food market and finding those varieties and telling us that these are the things to grow. Mitchell, an agronomist, said.

He wanted to know whether officials of regional institutions were concentrating on research and producing papers to ensure jobs at the university.

The agriculture ministers are discussing the identification of projects to be funded under the Lome III convention between the European Community and African, Caribbean, and Pacific nations.

Under Lome. 27.7 million U.S. dollars has been allocated for agriculture, one of five priority sectors identified by the Caricom secretariat for regional projects to be funded by the EC to the tune of nearly 100 million U.S. dollars.

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## VENEZUELA, TRINIDAD-TOBAGO REVIEW FISHING OPERATIONS

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 25 Jul 86 p 3

[Text]

THE ACTIVITIES of Trinidad and Tobago fishermen in Venezuelan waters and of Venezuelans in local waters were among several items discussed at yesterday's first meeting of the Trinidad and Tobago/Venezuela Fishing Commission.

The meeting was held at the Eric Williams Plaza North Tower yesterday, primarily to review the first year's operation of the Trinidad fishing agreement signed by the two countries last year.

Leading the Trinidad and Tobago delegation at the meeting was this country's Ambassador to Venezuela, Christopher Thomas. Venezuelan Rear Admiral Carlos Pulido Salvatierra, Director Frontier Division, External Affairs, headed his country's team.

Also present was Venezuelan Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago, Maria Clemencia Lopez-Jimenez.

Apart from reviewing the operation of the agreement, the Commission also examined the activities of local fishermen in Venezuelan waters, and those of mainland fishermen in Trinidad and Tobago seas.

Communication between the local Coast Guard officials and the Venezuelan National Guard (Guardia Nacional) was also scrutinised, as well as

procedures and a time limit for the issue of fishing permits under the Joint Fishing Agreement.

### Scientific Research

The Commission paid special attention to co-operation in the area of marine scientific research. Both delegations examined the following areas.

- Establishment of a joint T&T/Venezuelan Technical Committee;
- Joint research in the area of south of Trinidad and north of Venezuela;

- A management plan for these areas;
- Necessary data exchange

Speaking on behalf of the Venezuelan delegation, Rear Admiral Salvatierra reaffirmed his country's support for the 1985 Fishing Agreement and said his team would do everything possible at the meeting to produce positive results.

Representatives of the local delegation included Commodore Mervyn Williams (Chief of Defence), Mervyn La Croix (Director of Fisheries, Ministry of Agriculture), Phillip Sealey (Director, Marine Affairs, Ministry of External Affairs), and Shazam Ali (Asst Chief Executive Officer, National Fisheries).

The Venezuela team included Ambassador Jean Francois Pulvenis (Assistant to the Director, Frontiers Division), Captain Jose Fernandez (Ministry of Communications), Jorge Daher-Balbas (marine biologist), and Paul Hernandez (Second Secretary at the Venezuelan Embassy in Trinidad).

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VENEZUELA, TRINIDAD-TOBAGO EXAMINE PRIVATE-SECTOR TRADE

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 25 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Gail Alexander]

[Text]

EFFORTS to foster private-sector trade and investment between local and Venezuelan firms were launched yesterday when a Venezuelan private sector delegation met three Government Ministers.

Holding discussions with the Venezuelan commercial delegation were Ministers Errol Mahabir (External Affairs), Ronnie Williams

(State Enterprises) and Wendell Mottley (Industry and Commerce).

The other country's team was led by Dr Leopoldo Sucre Figarella (Minister of State and President of Corporacion Venezolana de Guayana, CVG), Dr Cesar Mendoza (President of Sidor) and Enrique Catell (President of Venalum).

Also present was Venezuelan Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago Maria Clemencia Lopez Jimenez.

Chairing the meeting at River-

side Plaza, Port-of-Spain, Mr Mahabir explained that yesterday's discussions were the result of meetings he and Prime Minister George Chambers held with private sector representatives in Venezuela during the Prime Minister's official visit there in May.

The meeting yesterday, he said, had been suggested to start and continue dialogue aimed at enhancing private sector trade and investment between Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela.

Mr Mahabir added that while joint ventures are being encouraged between both countries, Trinidad and Tobago is still mindful of certain economic restrictions announced by the Venezuelan Government recently to cope with falling oil prices.

Among these are the removal of Venezuela's subsidy on foreign debt, and certain import and export restrictions.

Despite these, Mr Mahabir said, given the political will and the necessary opportunities, local private sector companies could indeed appropriate beneficial arrangements.

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OPPOSITION SPOKESMAN REPLIES TO GOVERNMENT TAX-REFORM PLANS

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 24 Jul 86 p 5

[Text]

**BRIDGETOWN, July 23, Cana —** OPPOSITION SPOKESMAN on Finance, Owen Arthur, said today that the new Government's tax reform package, featuring \$67.4 million in concessions, sets Barbados on course for a currency devaluation.

Responding in Parliament to Finance Minister Dr. Richie Haynes's mini-Budget presentation last week, Arthur said the devaluation would stem from a conflict between increased spending power, locally, and unmatching levels of foreign exchange.

"The export outlook that confronts us is...one that urges us to be cautious about the rate at which we increase domestic spending in Barbados," the economist said.

"In the circumstances, we feel that this strategy being pursued by the Government will afford us a moment's pleasure, but that very soon we will be faced with the conflict between the increase in domestic spending and the availability of foreign exchange."

"We also feel that very soon, this conflict will give rise to a devaluation which will erode all the benefits that have been extended.

The DLP's fiscal package, canvassed heavily during the recent general election campaign, contained wide-ranging concessions to individuals and businesses, with the aim at bolstering economic activity, especially job creation, through increased local spending.

### Immediate Reaction

Arthur's submission on behalf of the three-member Barbados Labour Party (BLP) Opposition, drew immediate reaction from Haynes, who said a currency devaluation was not part of the economic strategy of the near two-month-old Democratic Labour Party (DLP) administra-

tion.

Arthur said the strategy could possibly work in large, self-sufficient economies, but not Barbados, where a high level of imports was needed, including inputs for locally-produced goods.

"The point, therefore, is that a strategy of solving our economic problems by increasing our domestic purchasing power can only work if we can be assured of an adequate supply of foreign currency, to support the increased demand for foreign raw materials, spare parts, machinery and consumer durables which will result," Arthur said.

He also said the measures did not address the real problems of the local economy — maintaining the viability and expansion of the key export sectors such as manufacturing.

Arthur, recalling Haynes's declaration, last week, that the new Government had inherited an empty Treasury, suggested it was contradictory to say so and then proceed with the giveaways.

"We must wonder where a Treasury which is broke will find the resources to underwrite these giveaways," he said.

Besides a currency devaluation, Arthur said the Government's mini-Budget offered real possibilities for increased taxes in the future, cuts in Government services, and increased indebtedness.

"The strategy which the Government seeks to follow has been tried elsewhere and has been shown to fail. The USA now battles with a national debt of \$2,000 billion, and it is only saved by its ability to repay part of its foreign debt in its own currency, he said.

BRIEFS

ATTACK ON BANK CHIEF--Bridgetown, Wednesday (CANA--Barbados' Prime Minister, Errol Barrow, has indicated that he would welcome the resignation of the man who has headed the government's Central Bank since the institution's inception in May 1972. In an attack delivered in Parliament yesterday against Central Bank of Barbados Governor, Dr Courtney Blackman and some top civil servants, Barrow said the economist had given the previous government bad advice. He referred in particular to a \$50 million (Bds) loan negotiated with Japan. The Prime Minister, whose Democratic Labour Party (DLP) scored a landslide win in last May's general elections, said he was embarrassed that the Finance Minister, Dr Richie Haynes, was going to Japan to finalise the loan--expected to go towards refinancing and repaying Barbados' debt. "These debts are not our debts. I do not agree with borrowing. [Text] [Port-of-Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English 24 Jul 86 p 15] /9274

CSO: 3298/512

## PROTECTIONISM CAUSES DISSENSION WITHIN ADMINISTRATION

## Ministerial Differences

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 19 Jun 86 p 32

[Unattributed report: "Differences Cause Postponement of CONIN Meeting"]

[Text] Brasilia (AGENCIA ESTADO)--Following a tangle of intrigues between technical advisers of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce [MIC] and the Ministry of Science and Technology--and mutual distrust between the respective ministers Jose Hugo Castelo Branco and Renato Archer--President Sarney decided to postpone sine die the third meeting of the National Council for Informatics and Automation (CONIN), which was to have been held today. The meeting would probably have turned into a forum for the expression of differences within the government--something that might have compromised the official informatics policy itself.

Minister Castelo Branco would reportedly attempt to boycott the meeting by raising various points of order. Minister of Communications Antonio Carlos Magalhaes allegedly planned to offer a proposal that would have been at variance with CONIN's by-laws governing debate. Businessman Eugenio Staub, industry's representative, planned to resign from the Council in protest against Archer. Lastly, Magalhaes and Castelo Branco were said to be organizing a parallel CONIN.

This major crisis was triggered by Renato Archer's decision (which he took without consulting Castelo Branco) to exclude the National Institute of Industrial Property (INPI)--affiliated with the MIC--from the plan to regulate the marketing of computer programs (software).

In early June, Castelo Branco went to President Sarney to complain about Archer, at which time he asked that the CONIN meeting be postponed. Day before yesterday, some of Castelo Branco's advisers released to the press a number of documents revealing various stratagems allegedly carried out by Archer to increase his power within CONIN by changing some of its by-laws.

Persons directly involved in the matter disclosed yesterday that these changes in CONIN's by-laws were made--without authorization from the Council members--pursuant to a decision taken by the legal advisers of Minister Marco Maciel of



the Civilian Household of the Presidency after consultation with the SEI [Special Secretariat of Informatics]. Minister of Communications Antonio Carlos Magalhaes was said to be the person most disturbed by the changes. In the end, the clause that gave to the ministries the prerogative of conducting their own internal informatics policies was eliminated, on the recommendation of the SEI. The SEI argued before the Civilian Household that this matter should probably be covered in another type of legislation rather than in by-laws. Magalhaes yesterday chose to remain silent, explaining that he would await a statement by Archer.

Day before yesterday afternoon Castelo Branco complained about Archer to Eugenio Staub, the president of Gradiente; the entrepreneur informed the minister that he will resign from the Council as a gesture of protest. As he left after his talk with Castelo Branco, Staub spontaneously voiced numerous criticisms of the SEI's software proposal.

One of Castelo Branco's advisers disclosed yesterday that the military ministers were going to ask President Sarney for the dissolution of CONIN itself, and that Minister of Finance Dilson Funaro was preparing to organize a parallel CONIN. Neither the military, nor any Ministry of Finance advisers, have confirmed this report. One source declared that Castelo Branco and Antonio Carlos Magalhaes were planning--together with the military ministers--to hold meetings paralleling those of CONIN, with the aim of presenting a "united front" to the Council.

In the face of so many rumors, Minister of Science and Technology Archer spoke yesterday morning with President Jose Sarney at the Air Base, at which time they decided to postpone the meeting of the Council. According to Archer, it was he who suggested the postponement and later sent a telex to the Council members to inform them of Sarney's decision. The fact is that the postponement bought time for the president to avoid an internal crisis.

In the late afternoon Renato Archer summoned the press to tell them that the CONIN meeting had been "prejudiced by a series of events" but avoided going into great detail.

Archer said that he has no information concerning any plans on the part of Minister of Industry and Commerce Castelo Branco. He did reveal that they had talked by telephone yesterday morning, but insisted that Castelo Branco did not protest the exclusion of INPI from the software plan. According to Archer, the Central Bank possesses much greater technical resources than INPI with which to control the remittance to foreign countries of profits derived from software.

#### SEI Creates Frictions

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 19 Jun 86 p 32

[Unattributed report: "SEI's Unilateral Decision the Last Straw"]

[Text] Barely 48 hours before the meeting of CONIN, which was to have been held today, the SEI sent the Council members a telex which increased the total

of incentives for the projects in this area to 3 billion cruzados from the previous figure of 80 million, with the inclusion of only four more companies. This was the last straw needed to have the CONIN meeting postponed sine die, for according to the by-laws any proposal for new incentives must be submitted at least 15 days in advance. The above information was obtained yesterday from a source linked to CONIN.

Even if the meeting had not been postponed--this source adds--certain members of the National Council for Informatics and Automation were already prepared to block it, given the fact that Minister of Industry and Commerce Jose Hugo Castelo Branco was intending to raise a point of order on the very first item of the agenda, so that the meeting would be unable to continue. Jose Hugo had some time before already asked President Jose Sarney for a postponement of the meeting.

Another important point that intensified Minister Jose Hugo Castelo Branco's disagreement with current national informatics policy was the fact that the SEI has excluded the INPI--an organ with ties to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce--from the legislation providing for the compulsory registration of software.

According to the aforementioned CONIN source, the special secretary for informatics himself, Jose Ruben Doria Porto, had given a verbal promise "to all the SEI and INPI directors" that the final version of the software regulations would be the one that included the INPI. On 16 May, INPI sent a telex to SEI demanding the final text of the proposal with the institute included; the secretary of informatics, however, did not reply and to this day has refused to pay any heed to INPI's representatives.

#### Blackmail

This same source believes that Minister of Science and Technology Renato Archer attempted to engage in blackmail on the eve of the talks between Brazil and the United States on the issue of protection for the informatics market, "in view of the fact that Archer planned to introduce a series of impediments, hoping that the members of the Council would not fight for their respective interests and would display unanimity, solely for the purpose of these talks with the United States." And he emphasized: "It's just as well that this never happened."

This same source, moreover, reported that many ministers are displeased with the lines along which the differences of opinion within the informatics sector are developing, and that this displeasure is leading to the creation--within some ministries--of a number of independent committees on informatics.

According to this CONIN source, the Ministry of Finance is already setting up its committee, and Minister Jose Hugo Castelo Branco has also informed his advisers of the necessity of creating--within his ministry--of a committee to deal with this sector. The announcement of the creation of this committee is expected to appear within the next few days in the DIARIO OFICIAL.

## "Serious Error"

"If it is true--as has been reported--that the SEI is planning to control all domestic computer programs, then we shall be witnessing the commission of a serious error that will adversely affect the capacity for creation and innovation--the very qualities that are the engine of the software industry," Deputy Pratini de Moraes, former minister of industry and commerce, warned yesterday in Brasilia.

"There is not the slightest doubt," he declared, "that Brazil needs to protect its informatics industry, but it must not expand this type of action in such a way as actually to inhibit the development of the sector. The objective of protectionism--which is a legitimate policy for the incipient stage of an industry--cannot be minimized. I am sure that the secretariat of the SEI will be able to correct any excesses that occur in the implementation of the informatics law."

### Software Firms Favor Protectionism

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 19 Jun 86 p 32

[Unattributed report: "Entrepreneurs of the Sector Are Still Worried"]

[Text] Early yesterday afternoon, when the initial reports concerning postponement of the CONIN meeting reached Sao Paulo, a mixture of relief and worry prevailed among the businessmen involved in the production and marketing of software (programs) for computers: relief because of the failure to approve, today, two proposals that would create more difficulties than advantages for their business activities; and worry over the fact that despite the postponement there is no guarantee that the government will require the Special Secretariat of Informatics (SEI) to revise the controversial points in the documents that the SEI has produced on its own.

The manufacturers, retailers, and users of computer programs are not opposed to regulation of this domestic market, which together numbers approximately 500 enterprises, basically of small and medium size. On the contrary, they have for some time been demanding--through their trade associations--the establishment of norms and procedures that will provide effective protection for the critical activity of creating and marketing software. In their view, the ideal solution would be for the nation first to institute--in the form of a law enacted by Congress--a legal system for the protection of computer programs and the safeguarding of royalties. Operating at the present time without any rules or any specific law, the market is open to piracy. According to estimates by the businessmen themselves, for each copy of a program marketed legally there are at least two illegal copies.

"Copying a program is as easy as making a Xerox copy," is the comparison made by Luigi Nese, president of the Sao Paulo state section of the Association of Informatics Service Enterprises (ASSESPRO) [as published]. For this reason, and because enacting a specific law for software is a very time-consuming

process, he supports--in concert with his peers--the regulation of software marketing as the most effective means, at the present time, of having some form of control over what is produced and sold in Brazil--but not the kind of regulation proposed by the SEI. Nese sees an even more serious danger in the event the legal vacuum persists: the danger that the government will lose control over a sector that is strategically more important than mastery of the techniques of computer production. The aim is not--he explains--to establish a protected market also for software (something which he says is "impractical and utopian") but rather to reserve economic control over the marketing of computer programs to domestic firms.

It is just that in practice, the regulation proposed by the SEI encourages piracy, in the opinion of Otavio Slemmer, general manager of Datalogica, which manufactures and retails software. "Inasmuch as no contract, under this proposal, could assure to a foreign supplier the right to demand protection for his computer program, an incentive is created in Brazil for the practice of piracy at zero cost and under legal protection," Slemmer opines. He himself had to go to court 2 years ago to prove that several large firms, including Du Pont and Prodam, were using illegal copies of the D Base II program--a data bank created by the U.S. firm Ashton Tate--which Datalogica sells for 13,000 cruzados, paying a royalty of 8 percent on each copy. The lawsuit ended with an agreement and provided Slemmer with an additional argument to use against the SEI proposal: "If the courts," he asks, "recognize that we have legal procedures for protecting software, how can the SEI profess to be unaware of this fact?"

This is a point that Slemmer wants to see discussed in depth by the committee which the national ASSESPRO is going to propose that CONIN create for the purpose of revising the two SEI proposals. "We shall be able, through judicious discussion, to arrive at a consensus that will satisfy everyone," says--for example--Tomas Maqdisi Elias, president of MICROTEC, one of the major domestic manufacturers of microcomputers. That is possible--agrees Roberto Riwczes, of the software house Compushop--if certain conditions are eliminated from the text of the proposals, such as the requirement that the retailer must develop computer programs, and the possibility that he may be subject to the Penal Code in the event he sells an unauthorized program: a stipulation, he says, "which equates us with vagrants." Indignant, Riwczes asks the "bureaucrats of the SEI" whether they would not also find it absurd if the government began to require, in the form of a directive, that "supermarkets plant food crops, art galleries paint their own pictures, and booksellers write the books they sell."

#### Turf-Related Struggle

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 18 Jun 86 p 21

[Unattributed report: "Plan to Regulate Software Threatened"]

[Text] Dominated by internal differences of opinion, and serving as a natural forum for a controversy that threatens to inflame its discussions, the National Council for Informatics and Automation (CONIN) will meet--for the third time since its creation--tomorrow to study the proposed resolution of the Special

Secretariat of Informatics (SEI) regulating the marketing, distribution, and registration of computer programs (software), which are sets of logical instructions that enable the computer to carry out the programmed tasks. When the details of the two SEI proposals were revealed yesterday, five of the 24 members of the Council declared themselves in opposition to their approval. If by the time of the meeting (scheduled for 1500 hours today) this number has increased to eight, then for the first time since its creation the SEI may have one of its decisions stayed.

A year ago the SEI and the National Institute of Industrial Property (INPI) of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce discussed a proposal for regulation of the marketing of software, which does not yet have a legal system for the protection of the rights of its creators. The two entities decided that they would send CONIN a proposal to require that every program marketed or produced in Brazil be registered with the SEI and recorded with the INPI. To everyone's surprise, however, the SEI transmitted to the members of the Council a draft that quite simply excludes the INPI from the legislation and arrogates to itself the function of registering the programs.

Ministry of Industry and Commerce Jose Hugo Castelo Branco, who is a member of CONIN, is opposed to the proposal, as are likewise Minister of Communications Antonio Carlos Magalhaes and businessman Eugenio Staub, who represents--on the Council--the National Confederation of Industries (CNC) [as published]. Not even the Brazilian Computer Association (SBC) or the Brazilian Association of Data Processing Professionals (ABPD) are endorsing the SEI proposal, which--in the original version--is also opposed by the Association of Data Processing Service Enterprises (ASSESPRO).

#### Appraisal

Everyone has his particular criticism--whether technical or political--of the SEI proposals. The members of ASSESPRO, for example, are obliged to fight for more restrictions on the marketing of foreign software, whereas Minister of Communications Antonio Carlos Magalhaes, for his part, continues to accuse the SEI of exceeding its authority. Businessmen, technical experts, and ministers are unanimous in their appraisal of the project, to the effect that in its present form it will not advance Brazil's technological development in the critical informatics sector, much less assist in preventing the calamitous practice of piracy in a market that last year did more than \$1 billion worth of business.

The SEI proposal concerning regulation of the software market in Brazil is divided into two basic documents. The first document, which establishes the norms and criteria relative to computer communications contracts, requires approval by the SEI of all contracts signed between foreign suppliers and domestic distributors; it creates a series of requirements that would prohibit unrestricted marketing of foreign programs in Brazil, such as the requirement that technical assistance be provided and--in cases of "relevant economic and social interest"--their "code-source" as well. Even without any definition of the criteria to be used in reaching the decision, approval of a contract is made contingent on the absence of any "functionally equivalent" domestic program, and on SEI approval of a program for the technological development and



training of the distributor. These contracts are valid for only 3 years, but are renewable for an additional 3 years.

The "register of computer programs" will require the advance registration, with the SEI, of all software marketed in Brazil; it establishes five categories for this registration, and defines as "illegal economic activity"--and therefore subject to the Penal Code--the marketing of programs that do not fulfill the aforementioned requirements.

#### Software Retailers' Position

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 18 Jun 86 p 21

[Article by Jorge Zappia: "An Obstacle to Free Enterprise"]

[Text] Businessmen who are engaged in the marketing of computer programs (software) spent the weekend trying to decipher what might lie behind the authoritarian relapse on the part of the Special Secretariat of Informatics (SEI), and to find alternatives to the chaos that will be introduced into the market if the National Council for Informatics and Automation (CONIN) approves--at its meeting tomorrow afternoon--the proposals that would regulate the marketing and registration of all software used in Brazil.

It was only last Friday that the SEI released to the members of CONIN the texts of the proposals (which contradicted all the other versions made public during the past 12 months) that would establish standards for the approval of "computer program communications contracts" and--unexpectedly--create a "register of computer programs." The two documents shocked the businessmen of the sector and unleashed a storm of criticism that did not spare even the leaders of some of their own organizations, who are accused of at least behaving with excessive caution in their reaction to something which--in the unanimous opinion of these retailers--brutally paralyzes free enterprise, encourages the illegal copying (piracy) of programs, and exposes national informatics policy to retaliation in the form of a flank attack from other countries.

#### Technological Limbo

During a meeting held by the board of directors of the Association of Informatics Service Enterprises (ASSESPRO) in Sao Paulo last night to evaluate the SEI proposals, these businessmen fired a volley in opposition to its approval. "By placing all these restrictions on the marketing of software of foreign origin, the government appears to be trying to keep Brazil in the technological limbo of the Middle Ages," was the heated comment of Roberto Riwczes, of Compushop, one of the larger retailers of computer programs in Sao Paulo. "If these proposals are not changed, they will throw Brazil into the arms of the pirates; create a potential focus of corruption in the SEI, which will be deciding on its own what can and cannot be done; and make growth impossible for the producers of domestic software," Paulo Milliet Roque, general manager of the software house Brasofot, added emphatically.

The principal target of the businessmen's criticism is the concentration of power in the SEI, which according to these documents would acquire the power to forbid the importation of any software that has a "functionally equivalent" domestic counterpart, although the criteria for making such a judgment are not set forth. Milliet Roque believes this would be the same as trying to prevent the importation of a foreign political film "solely because we have a Brazilian film on the same subject." Another absurdity, the businessmen say, is the requirement that all software be "registered" with the SEI, including software made to order for a specific enterprise: a situation that would produce--given the infinite number of programs--"a bureaucratic nightmare such as has never been seen," the Brasaft [as published] manager complains.

Attorney Georges Charles Fischer has hit upon an even more caustic description for any attempt to prevent foreign manufacturers from invoking--in their contracts with domestic distributors--any rights to intellectual or industrial protection for their software. "It amounts," he says, "to driving international software out of Brazil with blows from Indian clubs. It amounts to renouncing--stupidly--the flow of data, knowledge, information, and techniques that are produced in other parts of the world." Eugenio Staub, president of Gradiente and also a member of CONIN, voiced the same fear in Brasilia. Criticizing the fact that CONIN's by-laws were changed without first notifying the Council members (CONIN now becomes part of the structure of the Ministry of Science and Technology, which in this way has had its decision-making authority strengthened), Staub showed himself to be troubled primarily by the fact that the proposal for regulation "paralyzes private enterprise at a time when President Sarney himself is acknowledging the need to strengthen this sector," as the reporter Elizabeth Lopes has expressed it.

In Sao Paulo, Nilton Trama, president of ASSESPRO, attempted to reassure his peers shortly before the meeting of that organization. He was with SEI secretary Jose Rubens Doria Porto on Monday when he said that the secretariat itself could even today submit to CONIN a number of changes relating to two points which he considers basic: first, that consultation with the various organizations of the sector be required for the purpose of assessing the "similarity" between domestic software and its foreign counterpart; and second, that registration with the SEI be required only for programs of foreign origin.

#### High-Level Divergences

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 18 Jun 86 p 21

[Text] Brasilia (AGENCIA ESTADO)--On the eve of the talks with the United States concerning protectionism, Minister of Industry and Commerce Jose Hugo Castelo Branco has opened a new internal front of disagreements with current national informatics policy. One of his advisers yesterday distributed to the press an unofficial document disclosing the changes that Minister of Science and Technology Renato Archer incorporated into the by-laws of the National Council for Informatics and Automation (CONIN) without consulting the other members of the Council.



The by-laws that were originally proposed--and approved by CONIN last year--reduced the almost unchallengeable powers of the Special Secretariat of Informatics (SEI) by specifying the procedures for filing a legal appeal against decisions rendered by the SEI. Last Friday, after consulting with Archer, President Jose Sarney signed a decree relative to the by-laws; it preserved the concept of the reduction of SEI's powers but increased the authority of the minister-coordinator of CONIN--in the present case, Archer.

After talking with Minister Castelo Branco, Eugenio Staub--president of Gradiente and one of the members of CONIN--yesterday protested the changes made by Archer. His advisers had already made a study comparing the original proposal with the by-laws decreed by Sarney; and because they were not satisfied with the new document, they distributed the study to the press.

This is the third internal front to be opened within the government in opposition to the informatics policy. The first front was opened by Minister of Communications Antonio Carlos Magalhaes, who in behalf of the multinational telecommunications corporations attempted to insert an exception into the law. After that, Minister of Foreign Affairs Abreu Sodre planned to yield to the pressures from the United States in opposition to protectionism.

The most important changes made by Archer are: first, the change that makes CONIN part of the organizational structure of the Ministry of Science and Technology (whereas the original proposal said that CONIN "forms part of the Office of the President, as a collegiate organ of an advisory nature reporting directly to the president"); and second, the change that gives to the minister of science and technology the exclusive authority to coordinate the internal working committees.

Still another change eliminated the possibility that the members of CONIN could have themselves represented on the committees by other persons. This means that the members will have to appear personally at the committee meetings, thereby reducing--in practice--the possibility of creating committees to study informatics problems. Heretofore, whenever a difference of opinion arose within CONIN, a committee was formed to study the problem in question.

#### Sarney Trims SEI

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 14 Jun 86 p 24

[Text] Brasilia (AGENCIA ESTADO)--President Jose Sarney has terminated the almost unchallengeable decision-making powers that the Special Secretariat of Informatics (SEI) possessed in the domestic informatics sector. Beginning next Monday, businessmen who believe they have suffered damage will be able to appeal SEI decisions to the National Council for Informatics and Automation (CONIN). This change is contained in the presidential decree--signed yesterday--that approved the CONIN by-laws.

The decree stipulates that CONIN "forms part of the organizational structure of the Ministry of Science and Technology" and is an "organ of an advisory nature reporting directly to the president of the republic." The text of the decree

may be in conflict with the text of the Informatics Law, which in its Article 32 establishes that CONIN is an advisory organ of the Office of the President, on a level with the National Security Council, the EMFA [Armed Forces General Staff], and the Secretariat of Planning (SEPLAN). However, this question is already under study by the Federal Supreme Court.

Next Wednesday, 19 June, CONIN will meet for the third time since its creation (in October 1984) but for the first time under rules established for its internal affairs. Acting on the suggestion of Minister of Science and Technology Renato Archer, Sarney signed into law two changes in the original proposal for regulation: the "minimal quorum" for deliberations of the Council became one-third; and Renato Archer, the minister-coordinator of CONIN, also became the coordinator of each internal study committee, thereby increasing still further his control over the Council.

In addition to the United States, many Brazilian businessmen--and especially businessmen outside the informatics sector--have complained about the SEI's arbitrary power. The SEI has based its activity strictly on the letter of the law, but in practice the businessmen have had no way to appeal decisions where there was a legal or technical margin for interpretation. Yesterday's decree specifies that all appeals will have to be routed to CONIN--via the secretary of informatics--within 15 days after publication in the DIARIO OFICIAL of the decision rendered by the secretary, who will then be obliged to transmit the appeal within 30 days to the minister-coordinator of CONIN for consideration by the members of the Council.

#### Protectionism Limited to Software

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 28 May 86 p 31

[Text] Brazil will not extend to other areas of advanced technology--such as biotechnology and microchemistry--the protectionist criteria it has applied to informatics. This information was supplied yesterday in Rio de Janeiro by Luciano Coutinho, secretary-general of the Ministry of Science and Technology, who explained that the government's aim is to create scientific and technical bases "that will enable Brazilian private enterprise to take over these markets, which cannot fail to grow in the future."

This position was conveyed to businessmen of 17 countries who were meeting--at the second discussion forum sponsored by the Swiss EMF, an organization to which many of the world's largest enterprises belong--to appraise the situation of the Brazilian economy and determine the best forms of investment in Brazil. Coutinho said that Brazil must immediately initiate a program for the training of scientists and businessmen that will enable Brazil--by the beginning of the next century--to play a prominent role in the activities of the advanced technology sector.

Regarding the presence in Brazil of U.S. Assistant Secretary of Commerce John Whitehead, Coutinho said that Brazil will continue to maintain its firm position with respect to protectionism in the informatics sector, while recognizing that the current preelection period in both countries involves emotions in the

discussion of any subject. "I do not believe," he said, "that this fact will have any influence as far as the Brazilian side is concerned."

It is Coutinho's view that the protection of domestic enterprise is a practice of long standing in all countries, and that "not infrequently it is carried out in a truculent manner." He explained that in Brazil this protection has been effected through the National Economic and Social Development Bank (BNDES); through FINAME [Fund for Financing Machinery and Equipment]; and through the application of a tariff policy whereby preference is always given to domestic enterprise whenever it is in a position of equality vis-a-vis foreign enterprise. "Accordingly," he said, "there is no reason why Brazil should not utilize these measures to protect its pioneer enterprises, although without going to the extreme of protectionism."

#### Pressures To Widen Protectionism

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 20 May 86 p 34

[Text] Brasilia (AGENCIA ESTADO)--The extension of protectionism to the sectors of microchemistry and biotechnology was advocated yesterday by Minister of Industry and Commerce Jose Hugo Castelo Branco on the occasion of resuming his duties at the ministry. He said that he did not believe protectionism would radically alter trade relations between Brazil and the United States, and emphasized that "the problem of protection for the informatics sector is already set forth in the law, and the government therefore has the duty to implement this decision unless and until the National Congress is prepared to change the law."

Despite the fact that the document on industrial policy has not yet been elaborated, Castelo Branco said that the matter will be addressed by the team responsible for that effort. In his view, "industrial policy will define the national interests, and the sectors of microchemistry and biotechnology need to have the protection of the government so that they can grow"; for he believes that if this does not happen, both sectors will remain "at the mercy of market forces."

#### Phone Call

Upon learning of Jose Hugo Castelo Branco's statement to the press, the United States Embassy in Brasilia telephoned the Office of the Coordinator of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce to inquire as to the true meaning of the minister's remarks. The office subsequently issued an official statement including the following comment by the minister: "When I stated that it is incumbent on the government to create conditions that will enable the sectors of microchemistry and biotechnology to survive, I was expressing a strictly personal opinion. I should emphasize that I was speaking of protection, not protectionism. It should be made clear that this question will be decided in the plan on industrial policy now being drafted."

#### SIDERBRAS

After a month's absence for reasons of health, Castelo Branco has resumed his duties in seemingly very good health and will confer today with President Jose

Sarney, at which time he plans to request that steps be taken for the immediate financing of \$11 billion of the debt of the SIDERBRAS [Brazilian Iron and Steel, Inc.] system.

Castelo Branco believes that the problem at SIDERBRAS boils down to financing: "It is a bookkeeping problem, in that this amount of indebtedness must be removed from the books of these companies in order to scale down SIDERBRAS' debt and thereby facilitate a subsequent offering of its shares on the stock exchange." He believes that this stock offering will be made without difficulty "because," he says, "the results of the operations of these companies have really been very good."

#### Coutinho Favors Protectionism

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 11 Jun 86 p 22

[Text] Brasilia (AGENCIA ESTADO)--The Brazilian Government has no margin for negotiating with the United States on any basic question relating to the Informatics Law, it was stated yesterday by Luciano Coutinho, secretary general of the Ministry of Science and Technology. "There is no margin in the law for negotiation on substantive points," Coutinho explained. "If a foreign enterprise wants space in Brazil, it will have to be always on the frontier of technology, introducing hardware and software products of ever greater complexity," he added.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has still not officially informed the Ministry of Science and Technology of the time and place of the meeting with the U.S. Government for the purpose of discussing the Brazilian Informatics Law. Two meetings are planned: the first would be of a technical nature, between employees of the Special Advisory Office on Foreign Trade of the White House (USTR) and of the Department of State, for the American side, and diplomats and employees of the Ministry of Science and Technology, for the Brazilian side; while the second would be political in nature, between Minister of Foreign Affairs Abreu Sodre and Secretary of State George Shultz.

The form of the meetings, however, is still being carefully negotiated. The U.S. Government wants to send Clayton Yeutter, chief of the USTR, as head of the first-named delegation, and wants some high-level person on the Brazilian side: someone with real power to negotiate, not someone who will merely defend the current Brazilian positions--who knows, perhaps Minister Dilson Funaro himself? Yeutter does not have ministerial rank, however. The Brazilian choice could be Luciano Coutinho, or the secretary of informatics himself, Doria Porto.

The Brazilian Government, however, will probably decide to send a diplomat as chief of mission. Luciano Coutinho emphasized yesterday that Brazil is going to talk and keep open the channels for dialogue, but is not going to negotiate any substantial change in the Informatics Law. "We're not about to water down the law," Coutinho said. Moreover, with the Foreign Ministry in charge of the talks, it is evident that Brazil is firmly maintaining its position of treating the protectionism controversy in the context of overall relations between the two countries rather than as merely a disputed trade matter that can be resolved by mutual concessions.

The margin for negotiation is quite narrow, inasmuch as Minister of Science and Technology Renato Archer does not plan to direct the Special Secretariat of Information (SEI) to flexibilize the interpretation of the law--the so-called "Brazilian way." "Brazil is not going to change its behavior," Coutinho insisted yesterday. "We shall continue calmly to be guided by the technical criteria of the law."

Luciano Coutinho went on to forecast the SEI's performance over the life of the Informatics Law (until 1992). He said that enterprises of 100 percent Brazilian ownership will take over all segments of the market in the measure that they become technologically qualified. Foreign industries that find themselves in market segments that have recently been taken over by Brazilian industries will keep their products on the market but may not introduce new products into that market segment. They will have to occupy the most advanced segments: that is to say, will have to compete using their own matrix.

#### Foreign Computers for Government

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 11 Jun 86 p 22

[Article by Hugo Studart: "An International Preference"]

[Text] Brasilia (AGENCIA ESTADO)--The federal government is scheduled to purchase this year a total of 3.4 billion cruzados (\$245 million) worth of informatics equipment from foreign firms located in Brazil, and only 600 million cruzados (\$43 million) from Brazilian firms. Traditionally of a centralizing and bureaucratic nature, the federal government--the same administration that conceived the policy of protectionism to protect Brazilian industry--has effectively eased the way for the foreign informatics industries, utilizing up to 90 percent of its purchasing power in the acquisition of large-scale equipment.

These revelations are contained in a confidential study prepared in late May by the Special Secretariat of Informatics (SEI) and entitled, "Profile of Informatics in the Federal Government." According to this study, the government is scheduled to spend this year a total of \$12 billion worth of investments in informatics, or 0.9 percent of its budget. Two-thirds of this appropriation is to be used for salaries and training of 60,000 government employees, and 4 billion cruzados for the purchase of equipment. Approximately 85 percent of the latter amount (3.4 billion cruzados) is to be used for the purchase of large-scale equipment--equipment manufactured by foreign firms.

Although on the one hand this SEI study can provide good new arguments for the Brazilian Government to use in its talks with the United States Government concerning the protectionist law, it will on the other hand probably greatly displease the Brazilian industries. These new purchases are not illegal, nor are they incorrect from a technical standpoint; however, the National Informatics Plan (PLANIN) provides that the purchasing power of the government shall be utilized to aid the Brazilian industries.



Most governments that have national informatics policies--such as the French and U.S. governments--have used their purchasing power as the principal lever in behalf of their industries, in a way similar to the model advocated by Senator Roberto Campos. There are three means of protection for industries: the purchasing power of the government, the funding of technological research, and the creation of barriers against imports (for example, protectionism).

The 53-page study--which is strictly technical and avoids addressing the nerve center of the problem--compiled data from the Data Processing Centers (CPD) of 153 federal institutions and concludes therefrom that "the potential for participation by the federal government in the acquisition of products of Brazilian industry has been overestimated." He explains why:

"The centralizing model adopted in recent years by the federal government required the processing and storage of a large quantity of information, and this has led in most cases to the use of large-scale equipment that is not yet being produced by the domestic informatics industry."

The study notes that in 1983, 82.3 percent of the government's informatics equipment (calculated on the basis of its value) was large-scale equipment. In 1984--the year in which the Congress passed the protectionist law--this percentage increased to 90.6 percent. There are no data yet for 1985 and 1986, but the study discloses that the CPD's were in the process of modernizing, using even larger-scale equipment.

"The adoption of distributed processing by large central computers could enable the products of Brazilian industry to have a greater share of the institutional market," the SEI study suggests. Distributed processing is a technical option that uses a central computer coupled to countless other small computers, rather than a few large computers with "dumb" terminals.

The distributed process is an option that is only outwardly of a technical nature, however, because it presupposes a prior administrative decentralization--and the loss of political power by certain institutions and by the government. The installation of "smart" terminals (microcomputers, which are today Brazilian) in the government services is expected to reduce the need for personnel in some government bureaus and to diminish government control in most of them. Distributed processing, however, is merely a suggestion in a technical study and is a long way from becoming a political decision.

#### Famous Scientist Opines

Sao Paulo ISTOE in Portuguese 28 May 86 p 72

[Interview with geneticist Crodowaldo Pavan, president of the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development; date and place not given: "The Market Is Ours"; first paragraph is ISTOE introduction]

[Text] Last week the geneticist Crodowaldo Pavan, one of the spokesmen of the Brazilian scientific community, received good news: Ministry of Industry and Commerce Jose Hugo Castelo Branco intends to include--in the plans of his

ministry--mechanisms for the protection of the domestic biotechnology and microchemistry industry. This is precisely the thesis that Pavan has been defending in his debates with the scientific community looking toward the elections to the National Constituent Assembly, although he himself does not intend to be a candidate. He believes that--together with informatics--the advanced technologies are strategically important for Brazil and should receive the attention of the drafters of the new Constitution. At 66 years of age, Pavan recently left as head of the Brazilian Society for the Advancement of Science (SBPC) to take over the presidency of the important National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPQ). It is a distinguished chapter in his 44-year career as a researcher, which includes discoveries of vital importance for an understanding of gene reproduction inside chromosomes.

[Question] What should the Brazilian Government do to attend to the needs of the nation's scientific and technological development?

[Answer] Allocate from 2 to 3 percent--at least--of the GDP to this sector, which not only works for the well-being of the population but gives greater power to the national government of that population, and a more effective voice at the international negotiating tables. These funds would be allocated to the universities, institutes, and state industries. This is important for Brazil, due to its special situation among the countries of the Third World. However, we are asking for a little more than what the favorable natural characteristics of our country have already provided us. We also want protection for the domestic market. The Informatics Law, which provides this protection, has placed the development of this sector in a privileged position. We do not want protectionism for everything, but effective protection for the Brazilian market. There is no doubt that if we attempted to base our technological development on the export of equipment, we would not get very far. We must protect the domestic market.

[Question] What would be the precise nature of this legal protection?

[Answer] We must leave doors open in the Constitution so that decisions such as the one to protect the informatics market can be implemented. First of all, we would select industries that are of strategic importance and that truly relate to national security. For example: in Argentina, during the Malvinas War, the multinationals suspended the production of antibiotics, and that country was left without any possibility of caring for its soldiers and its sick. It had to be rescued by Brazil, and it was--very successfully. Situations such as this should, however, be avoided beforehand by developing domestic technology. In the case of pharmaceuticals--a field linked to microchemistry--Brazil today is actually 80 percent dependent on multinationals. Brazil was developing very well in this area some 40 or 50 years ago, but we are today in a situation of virtually total dependence on foreign sources. Another important area to protect is biotechnology, where protection of the market is very complicated. We must maintain the present system of patents in this area.

[Question] Do patents by themselves stimulate development in this area?



[Answer] This system prohibits the obtaining of patents on foods or living things. Many countries would like to end this kind of restriction in Brazil, but we should not allow patents on living things. A German researcher has classified as microorganisms things such as seeds, hybridomas, and cell cultures. This classification is being made with the specific aim of being able to patent things that currently are not patented, even in the developed countries. It reveals the artificiality of the system on which it is based. To obtain a patent, one must distinguish between what is superfluous and what is not. No one should really demand a patent for foods. No new scientific knowledge is necessary to solve the problem of world hunger. It is a typically political question.

[Question] Is not the protectionism you so strongly advocate a strategy that is designed exclusively to promote the development of applied research?

[Answer] Without a doubt.

[Question] Isn't there a danger that this strategy will reinforce the Brazilian tradition of renouncing basic research?

[Answer] That's undoubtedly true, but pure science is fundamental for anyone who wants to develop in scientific and technological terms. We're going to bend every effort in that direction, here in the CNPQ. Moreover, pure science is a necessity that those who are interested in applied research are finally acknowledging. In other words, it can also come as a corollary to the investment in applied science.

[Question] Technology is one of the most expensive products in the world--and one of the most monopolized. To protect the market effectively, would you advocate a constitutional provision prohibiting the importation of products whose technology is a veritable black box, inaccessible to the importing country? Especially in certain sectors?

[Answer] That would be impossible. One cannot prohibit the government--or whomever--from importing something they need, even though its technology is secret. What we must do is stimulate the development of that technology here.

[Question] But if we continue to import black boxes, do we not then have a stimulus in the opposite direction?

[Answer] Not necessarily. We can even attempt to limit--by legal methods--the importation of these products. The most important thing is to have qualified personnel in our country who can advise the government to exempt such imports and ban others. But unless we train qualified personnel here, we shall be unable even to select--let alone develop--that alternative technology.

[Question] What are the legal alternatives to the protectionism you advocate?

[Answer] We cannot simply turn the Brazilian market over to just anyone. We have the automobile industry to bear witness that "just anyone" came here and did as they pleased. There is protectionism for markets developed within our

country. There are laws in place that can quite simply be repealed; there are rules that people will obey because it is something that had already been agreed upon. But we are proposing to increase taxes, for example, to separate the wheat from the tares. Because it enjoys advantages of other kinds, foreign industry should pay more than domestic industry. It is true that this is a less drastic kind of problem than the problem in the informatics sector, whose protectionist law is very mild.

[Question] Shouldn't that law be changed?

[Answer] It's only for 8 years; we must extend the term and broaden the law for the medium-sized and even large computers. We must also require that the multinationals maintain research laboratories in Brazil, and grant access to our technologists.

[Question] Despite the protectionism, however, Brazil to this day does not produce chips, which are essential to informatics.

[Answer] That is no doubt a shortcoming. However, if the government will only come up with \$2 billion, we'll do it; in the meantime, it is much easier to buy them abroad. We cannot do it without a protected market.

[Question] Could not that protection for the domestic market result, over the medium or long term, in a certain technological backwardness for our country?

[Answer] That's been the standard line. It is true that if Brazil wants to compete with IBM in microelectronics, electronics, or informatics, it will be unsuccessful. We do not need to compete in all areas, however. In any event, the examples of our competitiveness speak for themselves. ITAUTEC recently won a competition in Germany, competing against firms from all over the world. The same is true for aviation. EMBRAER [Brazilian Aeronautics Company] was not a miracle. It was a well-planned effort. It goes without saying that it was supported by a form of protectionism.

[Question] How should scientists participate in the Constituent Assembly?

[Answer] The Constituent Assembly should incorporate articles that require the government to supply resources for scientific and technological development. The best solution would be to have government support for scientific development (such as the existing support for education) written into the Constitution.

[Question] A judicial decision was made recently in the United States to suspend the marketing of two kinds of bacteria produced by genetic engineering, for fear that they might damage the environment. Do you believe that we too should have some kind of legal restriction in this field?

[Answer] What genetic engineering is doing is speeding up the process of the natural phenomena. The danger involved is the same as the danger inherent in classic genetics--the danger of so-called bacteriological warfare. And that is part of the system. Obviously, no one is going to work with cancerous cells or with cancer-inducing viruses, because of the serious risk involved. The

research which people believe could be mistaken represents 1 percent of the potential research. What is taking place is a campaign of principle against bacteria. I am a pacifist who advocates the protection of the environment. We must not exaggerate, however, so as not to lose the victory that is in our grasp. I am proposing the formation of a genetic engineering commission to check on what is being produced, whether it is produced by Brazilians or by the multinationals.

[Question] You have always been a severe critic of the bad management of the meager budgetary appropriations that science, technology, and education used to receive in Brazil. As a member of the government, how do you feel about this matter today?

[Answer] I continue to hold the same opinion. We are creating a policy for the sector. As far as the CNPQ is concerned, we have today an extraordinary capital asset--the minds of our researchers. They are in that organization no longer as mere advisers; they now have deliberative powers. If we fail to perform, it will be a calamity; but I doubt this will happen. We are going to invest in those groups that have already demonstrated their competence, and in those that show promise of acquiring it, if they are able to carry forward their work in their respective fields.

[Question] Certain areas of knowledge were more favored than others in terms of governmental appropriations during the dictatorship. Could this be the time to salvage those areas that were neglected?

[Answer] I am concerned about all of them. Informatics and electronics were developed. Agricultural science, for example, proved very productive: what it yielded in return was infinitely greater, in economic terms, than the money that the government--in various ways--invested in research in that field. It is true that fields such as physics, botany, zoology, genetics, and others--as well as the entire gamut of the human sciences--received insufficient funding or were disadvantaged by political considerations. In the case of physics, for example, the Brazil-Germany project decimated the Brazilian groups that were doing research here and had already attained a reasonable level of development. My idea is to fund all areas.

[Question] Does space research deserve priority? Critics in academic circles allege that space research is today being used to conceal military interests, as for example the construction of missiles.

[Answer] We cannot allow ourselves the luxury of neglecting any of these areas. Space research is equally important for peaceful purposes. I do not doubt that these projects used to conceal military aspirations, but I cannot prove it. That happened during the dictatorship. We must, however, consider each case--each project--separately.

[Question] Does the Antarctic project, for example, have any importance from the scientific standpoint?

[Answer] It's a valid project, but primarily from the geopolitical standpoint. The research is minimal and will not yield a return over the medium term. Even so, we should not abandon it.

[Question] Does the radioactivity released in the Chernobyl nuclear plant accident in the Soviet Union pose any threat to the Brazilian population? Or is Angra-I more dangerous?

[Answer] The radioactivity will be harmless when it reaches here. The concern over this originates with those sectors that are interested in combating--at any price--nuclear energy and our technological and scientific development in this field. This is absurd. The firefly into which Angra I has been transformed--with its eternal on again-off again routine ever since its installation--merely goes to show that we should not buy anything without planning for it and without knowing how to use it properly, as occurred in the case of the nuclear agreement between Brazil and Germany. A group of scientists is prepared to review the matter and create a more complete safety system (which I think is a very good idea) against the possibility of an accident.

[Question] Should the new Constitution include some provision to deal with the implementation of secret projects or agreements in the nuclear field?

[Answer] It would of course be most interesting to have a Constitution that could prevent heads of government from initiating secret plans. But I don't believe this is possible--not in the kinds of societies we have today in the world, which at best are progressive and not totally democratic. Already, all the Legislative Branch has to do to find out about such plans is exercise its prerogatives and demand that the government clarify these questions. I hope that the Brazil of the New Republic will be sufficiently democratic to accomplish this. And soon.

[Question] Have the scientists taken a timid position with respect to the Brazilian atomic bomb project?

[Answer] The scientists are unable to act with the vehemence they displayed toward the nuclear agreement, inasmuch as they are not familiar with this project, which is an authentic military secret.

[Question] But there is a group among them that for several years has attempted to investigate this project.

[Answer] But in order for it to be completely disclosed, the National Congress would have to act. The national administration could also make an effort to unveil this project. Some things are confidential, however. Congress should decide to what extent something can be secret. After all, the government has to conceal some things for political, economic, or social reasons.

[Question] Professor Goldemberg, who like you is a leader of the scientific community, says it is time for scientists to take a more oppositionist position vis-a-vis the New Republic. He maintains that the new government has not yet said where it stands.

[Answer] Goldemberg has always been impatient. That's Goldemberg; that's just the way he is. I'm not a radical.

[Question] The first time you were a candidate for the SBPC, you were presented as a scientist of the conservative wing.

[Answer] I'm an independent liberal. A man of the center who follows his conscience. I have no fear of any system, be it socialism or whatever society desires. I am for democracy.

[Question] After a very successful career as a scientist, you assumed positions of leadership and representation in the scientific community. Today you are in the national government. Do you have any aspirations to become a politician?

[Answer] No; I'm a researcher. I'm afraid of only one thing: that I'll wind up greatly enjoying what I'm doing now. Because in that case I'll never be leaving here again.

#### More Scientists Favor Protectionism

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 21 May 86 p 23

[Unattributed report: "Protectionism Advocated for Biotechnology Sector"]

[Text] Rio de Janeiro (AGENCIA ESTADO)--Let the government be "firm and strong" but at the same time "adroit and stern": this is the message that the businessmen of the microchemistry and biotechnology industry and trade sector are bringing to Minister of Industry and Commerce Jose Hugo Castelo Branco with regard to the protectionist policy for the sector.

Fernando da Cruz, professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, who is also a businessman and director of the private firm Microbiologica, advocates the creation of a protected market and believes this should be done "as quickly as possible." In his view, this is precisely the one government initiative that will give domestic industries the protection which he says is lacking in this sector.

"The fact is," he adds, "that biotechnology and microchemistry are in the hands of foreigners, and in particular the pharmaceutical industry, which is restraining the entire process of development of pharmaceuticals." Citing his own experience, Professor Cruz says that Microbiologica has developed--with financing from CEME [Central Enterprise for Medicines]--the chemical synthesis of four pharmaceuticals.

#### Difficult Competition

"It was a task," he says, "in which we used 100 percent Brazilian technology; but we are now coming up against problems of costs, inasmuch as pharmaceuticals--when imported--retain their world market price, thereby making the competition extremely difficult for us."

Despite the position he has taken, Professor Cruz believes that the government needs to be "very adroit," because Brazil cannot yet do without the imported



technology and raw materials. He insists, however, that Brazil is already producing many things, and that if it is unable to maintain sales at even an acceptable level, "it is precisely because the multinationals are retaining their economic monopoly."

#### Lack of Capital

He says that these multinationals--unlike the Brazilian industries--have so much capital that they can even operate in the red. "We cannot allow ourselves this luxury," he says. In Cruz' opinion, Brazil is today one of the leading world powers in the pharmaceutical industry, but he regrets that the entire marketing structure of an industry of this nature "is in the hands of the foreign pharmaceutical industry."

"Worst of all," he emphasizes, "is the fact that they manufacture only the final medication. They do not produce any pharmaceuticals in Brazil, and almost everything we ourselves make here is made from imported raw materials. The government would have to require the development of the raw materials in Brazil. There are various ways of accomplishing this, as for example through the phased establishment of a center for production and development, and a program of systematic research oriented toward this sector."

#### Aid for Computer Industry

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 8 Jun 86 p 59

[Text] Brasilia (AGENCIA ESTADO)--The government plans to spend this year a total of 12 billion cruzados on investments in the informatics sector, or 0.9 percent of its budget. Two-thirds of this appropriation will be used for salaries and training of 60,000 employees, and at least 3.5 billion cruzados for the purchase of equipment from foreign firms. Although intransigent in its advocacy of protectionism, the government has used its purchasing power to help consolidate foreign industries in Brazil, according to a classified study by the Special Secretariat of Informatics (SEI).

The study reports that in 1983, 82.8 percent of the total value of the government's informatics equipment consisted of large-scale equipment manufactured by foreign firms. In 1984--the year the National Congress passed the Market Protection Law--the percentage rose to 90.6 percent. The principal cause of this phenomenon was probably the gigantism of the Brazilian State and the centralizing model of the national government, which model was consolidated following the movement of 1964.

Although on the one hand this SEI study (still unpublished) can provide Brazil with good arguments in its discussions with the United States concerning the Market Protection Law, it will probably, on the other hand, profoundly displease Brazilian industries. After all, a government can aid a sector of its domestic industry in any of three ways: by the use of its own purchasing power; by financing research and development; and by creating import barriers (such as protectionism).



The use of the government's purchasing power to assist Brazilian industries is provided for in the National Informatics Plan (PLANIN), passed by the Congress last April; but to date nothing has been done. The SEI study is based on research carried out in 153 institutions.

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## INPE PROGRAMS FOR WEATHER, REMOTE SENSING SATELLITES DETAILED

Sao Paulo ISTOE in Portuguese 25 Jun 86 pp 52-54

[Text] With the slow and fertile phase of ideas and plans behind them, the scientists and technicians of the National Space Research Institute (INPE), with headquarters in Sao Jose dos Campos, 97 km from Sao Paulo, are preparing to leave their drawing boards, over which one of the best endowed segments of Brazilian talent has labored since 1979. Without much to-do, the first national satellite is emerging from paper, halfway on a course that, before the end of the decade, should lead the country on the way to space and to complete mastery of the engineering of orbital vehicle launching. The chief of the INPE's space mission, electronic engineer Aydano Carleial, announced last Wednesday, the 18th: "In July, we are going to enter an accelerated phase of construction of the first functional model of the Brazilian satellite."

This coming 21st, his team is going to face a tough panel that is going to meet in Sao Jose dos Campos to critique and express its opinions on the national solutions devised for the new system of stratospheric [as published] flight. Participating in the open forum, in addition to Brazilian researchers, are four representatives of the National Space Studies Center of France, an agency with recognized international influence. It will be a rigid check of the most diverse aspects of the satellite--from the construction plan to the performance of the satellite tracking and control equipment. After the principal criticism and suggestions are heard, the INPE will begin importing and purchasing components in the Brazilian market or building them in its own laboratories.

With its launching date already scheduled for 31 January 1989, the first satellite, which will have a primarily meteorological function, will be hurled aloft by a Brazilian rocket developed by the Aeronautics Technological Center. Weighing approximately 115 kg, the satellite will orbit the Earth every 100 minutes at an altitude of between 700 and 800 km. It will retransmit data from automatic weather stations spread across the national territory, which will be received by an INPE antenna installed in Cuiaba and processed by computer. Engineer Carleial expects "our data-gathering to increase enormously," with applications of inestimable value to agriculture, air navigation or, simply, the daily life of the common citizen.

The chief of the INPE's Meteorological Department, Yoshihiro Yamasaki, who has just completed a system for the reception and computer processing of the images supplied by the European Meteosat satellite, with maps on the Brazilian

Northeast, predicts that "with that instrument, Brazil will have access to weather measurements in regions that today are difficult of access, such as the Amazon." But he is convinced of the advantages of having a national satellite. "It is important in order for us to cope with urgent challenges such as the difficult long-range weather forecasting," said Yamasaki. This year, the INPE developed a complex mathematical model with that function, which is capable of analyzing 15 million [bits of] information per second through a computer. It is an important step toward the establishment of a new agency designed to improve the quality of the country's weather services the outlines of which are beginning to be defined this month: Climate, Operational Center, and Integrated Laboratory for Applied Meteorology. Allied with the National Weather Service, the INPE will have a decisive role for the success of the mission, particularly with the future national satellite.

Obviously, the Brazilian space program will not be limited only to this first satellite the cost of which is estimated at \$280 million, or the equivalent of 3.9 billion cruzados. Scheduled in its wake is another weather satellite in 1991 and two others in 1993 for remote sensing--an advanced technique of conducting long-distance measurements in which the INPE is developing rapidly and which is among the most dynamic activities of the institute. Geologist Paulo Roberto Martini of the Remote Sensing Department declared: "Today we have more than 1,000 customers in the country, including planters, scientists, and large companies." Among his customers are the Brazilian Forestry Development Institute and the Rio Doce Valley Company. For the time being, it is a data bank for farm crop forecasting, the result of more than 10 years of evolution. The INPE researchers worked during that time studying methods of differentiating the crops by how they reflected and emitted light and other forms of electromagnetic radiation. They also evaluated the best data-processing systems applied to sensing. Their great success in this connection was the creation of a computer especially designed for the job--the SITIM, marketed today by the Engespaco Company. In the future, the data bank will be able to serve as the official source for crop forecasting in the country, to be incorporated in agencies such as the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). The figures thus produced are essential for purposes of importing or stocking farm products, consequently influencing their price. Today, despite the official mantle of the IBGE forecasts, in practice, there are many other agencies that generate forecasts. With a reliable scientific methodology, the data bank will make it possible to eliminate those disparities. It will already be operating on an experimental basis during the 1986-1987 crop season that begins in September. Getulio Batista, chief of the Remote Sensing Department, announced: "We are going to begin only in the state of Parana but we hope to expand the project to three other states in the coming years."

Much more complex, the remote sensing satellites should benefit from the experience of the two pioneer specimens of Brazilian production. The first results should appear next year when construction of the first test model is completed. The parts being used now are similar in operation to the parts that will actually fly in space but they are not exactly the same. Termed "military components," they are of a lower quality and are 20 to 30 times cheaper than the actual ones. Their exclusive purpose will be to test the combined performance of the whole assembly. Later the system will have to

pass through a much more rigid screening, when it will be subjected to the tough conditions of outer space. As of now, the attention of the specialists is directed toward the interplanetary vacuum--all of the parts, however simple they may be, such as a battery, take on a new look from this perspective. During the launching and later when it is detached from the rocket to travel in its weightless orbit, the satellite will be subjected to violent shocks. In addition to that, in space the satellite will be in a vacuum and subjected to the heat of the sun, on the one hand, and the cold of space, on the other. The variations of temperature can go from minus 10 to plus 40 degrees [Celsius]. Under these circumstances, the equipment, the cost of which has been estimated at between \$4 and \$6 million, will have to function with 99 percent reliability, operating without defect during practically all of its useful life of 6 months.

According to engineer Pawel Rovenseld, responsible for all of the satellite control area and its components, as well as for reception of the data it will retransmit from space, there will be another quite unprecedented experiment for the Brazilian researchers. Until now, Brazil has always handled data from foreign satellites, such as the American Landsat or the French Spot. Now the technicians of the INPE, whose roster directly involved in the space program including administrative staffs numbers 400 employees, will have to worry about the life of their own machine; that is, its power expenditure, the temperature of its components or the electrical currents to which they are subjected. "A short-circuit in one of the parts can suck all the power generated by the solar cells that surround the satellite," warned physicist Carlos Santana, whose job involves all of the satellite construction area. When Santana leaves the scene, Rovenseld enters. The latter commands the delicate tracking antenna for collecting the data obtained by the satellite. The antenna will have to be imported because it must move rapidly and in many directions in order to follow the satellite and its signals. Flying at a relatively low altitude, the Brazilian satellite will be within the aperture of the antenna for 12 minutes during each pass-by. During that short period of time, the heavy, 11-meter-diameter structure is under strong tension as it tracks its target. The antennas that Brazil can build would not withstand that strain.

To insure the quality and effectiveness of the parts that will make up the satellite, the INPE has invested \$20 million (that is, 274 million cruzados) on an integration and testing laboratory still under construction with the collaboration of the French Intespace Agency. It will be sought to simulate the conditions of space and the strains faced by the satellite during launch. In a vacuum chamber, for example, it is possible to reproduce space conditions of very low atmospheric pressure (1 million times lower than at sea level) or abrupt changes of temperature. There is also a powerful vibrator that imitates shocks and tensions that is even capable of shaking the structure of a building.

The INPE scientists are certainly putting solid trust in the Brazilian space future--so much so that they are proposing the construction of five other satellites simultaneous with the four already on the way but this time for exclusively research purposes and not for applications such as meteorology or remote sensing. The plans have strong advocates but they must still be discussed more widely with researchers from other institutions and other parts of

the country. One of the scientific satellites conceived by the INPE would specialize in observations of the sun in order to detail its violent explosions. Another would be a strange telescope for gamma rays, a type of electromagnetic wave similar to light but with very much more energy. In the view of Barclay Clemesha, chief of the Atmospheric Optics Division, the idea of the research satellites is very natural. "It was the route also followed by the other countries," he observed, in support of the enterprise.

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## WAYS TO INSTILL MARXIST-LENINIST VALUES DISCUSSED

Havana CUBA SOCIALISTA in Spanish Jan-Feb 86 pp 1-12

[Article by Jose Felipe Carneado, member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party]

[Excerpts] "Educating our people in revolutionary patriotism and in the most profound internationalist spirit," asserted the party's First Congress, "constitutes an ongoing task and a sacred duty in our ideological efforts." (Footnote 1) (Position paper, "On the Ideological Struggle," Position Papers and Resolutions, Published by the Department of Revolutionary Orientation of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, Havana, 1976, p 244)

This assertion, which in turn reflects a regular practice in the countries that are building socialism, is based on the Marxist-Leninist view of the need to combine the principles of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. In this regard, scientific socialism criticizes both the downplaying and the unilateral exaggeration of nationalism, as well as neglect of the international commitments of the working class.

History shows that a failure to take these aspects into account causes serious setbacks for the working class of any country in the long run and, at the same time, harms the interests of the international proletariat as a whole in the face of the onslaught of the world imperialist system.

We cannot ignore that among all social sentiments and especially among national sentiments, patriotic feelings stand out because of how deeply they penetrate into the consciousness of the masses. According to the Leninist view, the homeland is an entire complex that comprises the social, cultural and political universe, and territorial, linguistic, socioeconomic and sociopolitical elements, the first two of which Lenin himself described as "eternal" elements of the homeland.

Furthermore, the concept of homeland has a true class content. This can be seen in the societies that are based on man's exploitation of his fellow man, in the de facto imposition and predominance of the ideas of the ruling classes, which, of course, do not reflect the need of the oppressed for a homeland, fundamentally in regard to the socioeconomic system that prevails in such societies. Thus, one homeland is of and for the bourgeoisie, while the



proletarians strive to achieve another as they differentiate their love for their native land and their progressive and revolutionary traditions from their hatred of and opposition to the prevailing system of exploitation.

At present, the ceaseless educational work of the founder and leader of our socialist State, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, continues to play a primary role, as he has helped and continues to help the masses to grasp the idea that "the homeland comes before the individual, and mankind comes before the homeland." These phrases are watchwords in the development of a consistent patriotic and internationalist philosophy that is closely tied to the revolutionary efforts of our entire people.

As a result, in every corner of the world Cuba's name is spoken with respect, affection and admiration today, not just because of its steady socioeconomic development but also because of its heroic, combative tradition, its high revolutionary morale and the deep-rooted spirit of solidarity that it has so eloquently evidenced. The Cuban Revolution and its successes in repelling the wide variety of aggressions perpetrated by the main imperialist power are irrefutable proof of the great strength that patriotic and internationalist ideals have when they are closely linked.

The findings of the symposium entitled "the system of patriotic and internationalist education in the party's ideological work," which was held in Havana last year, will help to systematize and enhance this important effort in Cuba. One of the symposium's features was the wide variety of sectors that took part; another was the properly differentiated approach in analyzing the problems under study.

The conduct of the revolutionary process, the need to make headway under extremely difficult conditions and the objective and subjective premises created by the successes in building socialism have enabled us to salvage legitimate patriotic values and to develop valuable political and ethical traditions in the struggle to consolidate the new social system. The consciousness of the new man that the revolution is developing rests on and is continually enriched by this foundation.

This activity, which has been emphasized ever since the early years of the revolution, is currently one of the most effective means of promoting the development of a scientific, Marxist-Leninist view of the world among workers and, especially, among the younger generations. The social sciences have a wide range of topics and a broad area of research in which to develop the theory and praxis of communist education among our people.

In this regard, the policy charted by the party's First and Second Congresses set forth the structural elements needed to put together a system that provides a comprehensive and differentiated approach on a scientific basis for achieving the projected goal.

At the organizational level, in accordance with the stated goals and directions, the country began a process of institutionalizing, regulating, planning and phasing in the fundamental content of patriotic and internationalist education. The process was accompanied by an expansion and

intensification of coordinated activities among State agencies, mass organizations and social institutions. This was accomplished through various joint agreements and programs between the Union of Young Communists, mass organizations, military, educational and cultural institutions, the mass media and institutions of scientific and technological cooperation and of solidarity, among others.

The reinforcement and enhancement of this entire organizational structure was aided considerably by the creation of agencies specializing in the problems of patriotic and internationalist education, such as the Society for Patriotic-Military Education (SEPMI), and of separate auxiliary bodies in the political and mass organizations themselves, bodies in charge of guiding the activities connected with the present course of ideological work.

Now then, an analysis of practical experiences and theoretical generalizations shows us irrefutably that the praxis of patriotism and proletarian internationalism under our country's specific conditions has considerably outpaced theoretical work. This points up one of the shortcomings of our efforts.

The lack of multidisciplinary studies to analyze this phenomenon comprehensively has led to overlapping efforts and the failure to make optimum use of the conditions that are conducive to an educational process of peak efficiency.

Therefore, today we can no longer continue to promote the more efficient performance of this work without establishing a scientifically structured system that, through clear-cut theoretical directions, can guide the wideranging practical activities performed in the country.

A major effort in this direction is the work that the group chaired by Comrade Jose R. Fernandez, the minister of education, has done, as discussions have already begun on its initial findings. This material is a valuable contribution to determining content, means, forms and methods, as well as the ties that ought to exist between the various institutions and organizations involved in patriotic, patriotic-military and internationalist education, and the conclusions that it draws are a starting point for the far-reaching educational work by all these organizations and institutions.

As for cooperation with the underdeveloped countries, we must strive to continue improving the technical-professional and political-moral quality of the specialists who perform these missions, so that our aid is increasingly effective and, through the example and personal conduct of our fellow countrymen, helps to promote the true image of Cuba and of socialism in those nations. Moreover, we must make more efficient use of the results of this solidarity and aid and of the example of its participants to help raise our own people's internationalist consciousness.

Cooperation with other nations cannot be viewed solely as a technical-administrative problem; we must also be able to appreciate and support their essential political and ethical values. Particularly important, in this regard, are the efforts aimed at countering the attempts by American

imperialism's ideologues and centers of ideological subversion and psychological warfare to distort and misrepresent the internationalist policy of the Cuban party and State. Such research is extraordinarily valuable in exposing enemy propaganda abroad and in strengthening the political awareness of the workers and, in particular, of the younger generations.

In keeping with what we have said, the patriotic and internationalist education that the Cuban Communist Party provides should aim at the following objectives during the next stage:

--To develop in workers and especially in the younger generations a profound awareness of their duty to the cause of the construction of socialism, loyalty to the party's policies, love for the socialist homeland and the need for constant training to defend their achievements.

--To permanently strengthen friendship and teamwork with the countries of the socialist community.

--To educate the masses in a lofty sense of duty to and solidarity with the peoples who are struggling against imperialism and underdevelopment; to make them understand that our contribution in this regard is payment of our debt of gratitude to mankind.

--To develop closer ties of friendship and solidarity with the progressive peoples and forces on our continent until we reach the goal of creating the great Latin American homeland.

--To expose anticommunist and anti-Soviet diversionist ideology, the untruths and distortions about the activist internationalist foreign policy of the Cuban party and people.

In order for patriotic and internationalist education to be truly effective, it must be linked to the tasks that are being performed in each specific historic stage. At present, the efforts involved in the guidance of ideological work must be closely linked to solving the problems connected with training the masses to wage, if necessary, a war of the entire nation, as well as to pursue the economic battle on all fronts and to discharge our duties and obligations to the socialist community and to the countries that are struggling to free themselves from imperialist oppression or its aftermath in all respects. The combination and interrelationship of these three basic tasks must constitute the foundation of all efforts in the patriotic and internationalist education of the masses.

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## ELECTION CAMPAIGN: PARTIES VOW PEACE, OUTLINE POSITIONS

## Manley on Main Issues

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 1 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

[Text]

Mr. Michael Manley, President of the PNP, said yesterday that his party would continue to regard next month's Local Government Elections as a referendum on the Government's policies, and felt that the majority of the people regarded it so.

"Mr. Seaga's rather unfortunate attempts at threats and intimidation notwithstanding, the PNP is regarding this election as a referendum on the Government. We are not threatening anybody, we are stating that it is a referendum, and I think it would be a good thing if the Members of the Government were to wake up to fact that the people out there regard it as a referendum.

"What I said before I repeat, if the judgment of the people about this Government is clear, we shall call for and expect that the wishes of the people will be respected in the shape of a General Election to follow," Mr. Manley told a press conference at the party's Old Hope Road, St. Andrew, headquarters.

He said that his party would be campaigning on the basis of four fundamental issues: the economy and the effects on it of deregulation; devaluation and the credit squeeze as well as the confusion caused by those strategies and their effect; the destruction of Local Government, a fundamental impairment of the possibility of democratic participation for the Jamaican people; the deteriora-

tion in social services, including health and education, and why the deterioration; and, corruption.

"And all of this in the context of an examination of the terrible deterioration in living standards that has been the result of economic policies," he said.

On the question of work distribution, which is one of the points being discussed between the two parties, Mr. Manley said that it was receiving urgent and continuing attention.

However, he said, while there was an agreement in the principle that there has to be justice in the distribution of scarce benefits, he wished for a final and precise agreement which has not yet been made. He hoped that in advance of an agreement there would be no disregard of that principle.

Turning to Mr. Seaga's statement that foreign investors were holding back on investments, Mr. Manley said that it seemed to him that Mr. Seaga was "jumpy".

He said that Mr. Seaga's remarks about what happened to people "trying to push his government" were "disgraceful", coming from the Prime Minister of the country, but reflected "jumpiness rather than bad intention."

He said that Mr. Seaga's "propa-

ganda" about foreign investors was "very confused", because he was suggesting that business people were not investing because the PNP was asking for an election which it was felt they would win.

What was more interesting was that on that issue Mr. Seaga had given an interview a couple of months ago to 'Caribbean Business News', a Puerto Rican magazine, which said that he had denied that a new Manley administration would be hostile to foreign investments because what the country wanted was investments and foreign exchange.

Mr. Manley said that what the foreign investors did not like was the one-party system. He said that in 1983 Mr. Seaga said that he had called that General Election to seek a mandate for foreign investments, and got a mandate which was reflected in the entire Parliament yet despite that the investments were not coming.

"The truth of the matter is that when you look at all the factors which are involved, it is now that we need an election to provide a mandate that foreign investments can feel secured. In fact, what he tries to use as propaganda directed against us, which is why I say he is so confused,



more than anything else underlies the importance of resolving the climate of political system in Jamaica so that investors have no uncertainties with which to deal and can settle down to doing business with us."

Also attending the press conference were Mr. P.J. Patterson, chairman, Mr. Seymour Mullings, Mr. O.D. Ramtallie and Miss Portia Simpson.

#### WPJ on Code of Conduct

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 2 Jul 86 p 2

[Text]

The Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ) has welcomed the accord reached between Prime Minister Seaga and PNP's President Michael Manley for a Code of Conduct in elections.

But the Party has called for the expansion of the Working Committee which was set up to formulate the Code of Conduct, to include the Jamaica Council of Churches, all political parties, and civic groups "who have relationships in the communities".

According to a release issued by

the party on Sunday, Mr. John Haughton, a member of the WPJ's Central Committee, and a candidate for the Whitfield Division in the local government elections told a group of party workers in a training seminar on Sunday that the party had been doing its part to keep down political violence in the communities.

He said that the party's General Secretary, Dr. Trevor Munroe, had accepted an invitation from the Jamaica Council of Churches to talk about political violence, and that Mr. Vincent Richards, the candidate for

the Greenwich/Payne Land Division had also written to local church leaders and community leaders inviting them to discuss the issue of political violence in the constituency.

On Friday, the Party announced that it will be contesting the elections in eight of the island's fourteen parishes.

The Party will be putting up fourteen councillor candidates in divisions, in St. Andrew, St. Catherine, Clarendon, St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, Hanover, Portland and Trelawny.

#### Seaga on JLP Achievements

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 2 Jul 86 p 3

[Text]

Prime Minister Edward Seaga said on Sunday night that while the Government will be using next month's Local Government Elections to place its policies before the people, it does not consider the election as a referendum.

Mr. Seaga told thousands of Labour Party supporters at their mass meeting at South Parade, in Kingston, when he announced a date for the election, that the Government felt it was an opportune time to put to the people what it had done since taking power.

Many had complained that they did not know about all the things that had been done, and since when election time came people listened, his Government would be informing them of all the programmes of the JLP since taking office.

"But, I don't want anybody to

misunderstand that in doing so we are running any national campaign which is to be called a referendum on whether the Government is successful or not.

"According to the PNP, they are treating this election as a referendum to decide whether the Government should stay in power or not. I want them to understand that there is a difference between a Local Government Election and a General Election; and General Elections will be called only when the Government of Jamaica, specifically when the Prime Minister, decides.

"I make this statement for good reason, because everywhere I go now investors are asking me if there is going to be any general elections, because the fear of any PNP Government taking over Jamaica Government has led them to the conclusion

that, if there is to be any General Elections soon they would just fold their hands, stop investing until they see what happens: because if PNP wins they are not in it anymore.

"I want them to understand that this Government has some three years left, until the end of 1988, and we will decide at the appropriate time when there will be general elections. And I warn anybody and everybody: don't believe that you can force the Government into any elections, don't believe it, don't try it, don't do it.

"Many people have tried to do things and to push this Government into corners before. Some of them have to run leave the country, some of them in jail, some of them sitting down at home without work. This Government don't bow to threats. I give you my good and humble and kind advice: don't try it".

Turning to his Government's performance since 1980, Mr. Seaga said that the Government had produced 80,000 new jobs in its first five years, compared to the PNP's creation of 30,000 new jobs in its last five years of Government.

The Government was giving pride back to the people of the country; but that was not the only thing that it could do, as it had also restored an economy that was broken down and was in the worst shape of any time in the history of the country when the JLP took over in 1980.

"We can't allow the PNP ever to forget that, nor the people of Jamaica to forget the things that we had to do, the things that we took over," Mr. Seaga said.

"Under the last Government, the tourist industry was fast disappearing. When you saw a tourist in Montego Bay you had to take a picture of him. Today, tourism has rebounded and in the next year or two we will double the number of visitors.

"Agriculture in every sector was sliding. Banana was almost wiped out, sugar was in serious problem. Today, banana is revived and headed for record levels of production, and the slide in sugar has stopped. Today, in Agriculture unemployment is one half of what it used to be.

"For many years in Manufacturing, the level of employment was about 70,000 persons. Since we became Government, employment has increased steadily and for the first time today 100,000 persons are employed in Manufacturing.

"Under the previous Government, we attracted only nine new industries each year. Under the JLP Government we are attracting over 100 every year.

"In all of this, of course, there

have been hardships, because the economy we took over required us to make some harsh decisions which were difficult on the pockets of the people. Prices went up and we didn't know when it would stop; but the time came when we reached the stage where we could announce relief in many of the basic food items.

"All of you have suffered. Especially those of you from the country parts have suffered from the conditions of roads. It was not something that happened overnight. We have had to neglect roads because there was no money, the PNP had to neglect roads because there was no money; but because of all the effort put into the system, this year's Capital Budget is twice the size of last year's".

Improvements to the health services would begin next year, costing \$150 million, and would make hospitals into high-level ones: a level which the country did not enjoy before.

In Education, a new plan which will be put into effect next year would introduce a system under which every child will have the same level of education up to the age of 15.

"So although there are hardships, they are not hardships which have been left and ignored. There had to be hardships for a time because we didn't have the funds to use. But, once we have put ourselves in the position that we are now, where by your sacrifice we have been able to get the amount of money that we require, from that time on we have taken into our grasp these areas of hardships as there are programmes to deal with everyone of them".

Mr. Seaga said that the PNP had talked about welfare and social pro-

grammes. "I want to know under which PNP Government has there ever been at any time in history of this country, the kinds of benefits that we are giving to the people today," he said.

"We have reduced food prices at a cost of \$120 million, we have reduced electricity bills at a cost of \$80 million, we have carried out a programme of tax reform so that 150,000 workers do not pay tax, at a cost of \$180 million, and for the last two years the Food Stamp Programme at a cost of \$100 million. When you add all of those areas together, you get a total of \$480 million which we are giving to the people, helping to make life easier and better for thousands and thousands.

"It is good management why today we don't have prolonged blackouts. When they happen it is from some uncontrollable reason. We now have more power in the system than the country can use for the first time in its history.

"Only two months ago Government gave instruction to put lights in 3,700 rural locations and already we have put in 3,000 in just six weeks.

"Today you enjoy these things for one good reason: you enjoy these things because you have a Government that has strong leadership. You have a Government that has decided its mind, taken its stand, does not waver but follows through with decisions whether they are popular or unpopular.

"The unpopular ones are bitter at first, but after that you begin to feel the benefits; and for those reasons today there is more discipline in the country than ever before, there is greater order, there is less crime of a violent nature than there was in the 1970s.

## Manley on WPJ's Chances

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 3 Jul 86 p 2

[Text]

The PNP does not expect that the WPJ will poll very significantly in this month's Local Government Elections, Mr. Michael Manley, PNP President, said on Monday.

Mr. Manley was responding to a question asked at a press conference at the PNP's headquarters, Old Hope Road, St. Andrew, as to whether he

felt that the WPJ's intention to contest the elections would have any effect on the number of votes his party could poll in those areas.

He said that the WPJ's vote may not be consistent in any one area and might be dependent on organization and support, but he did not expect that party to "poll very significantly" in the elections.

"But I wouldn't like to hazard a guess as to who they are going to pull votes from. I think it might vary from area to area."

Asked whether it should not be expected that the WPJ would split the votes of the left rather than the right, Mr. Manley said: "That is assuming that there is a sort of uniform ideological perception



throughout Jamaica, and that is not necessarily so...I don't think you get standard responses in that way when you bring politics down to local communities."

In reply to another question asking what he would consider a

mandate from the people in the elections, Mr. Manley said that his party would be satisfied with a majority in terms of the number of seats, the popular vote and a breakdown of the votes in terms of constituencies.

### Manley on Parties' Peace Pact

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 7 Jul 86 pp 1,3

[Text]

PNP President Michael Manley views the current election campaign as being "far more important than any other Local Government campaign in the history of Jamaica."

Also, Mr. Manley is of the opinion that the agreement for peace between the PNP and the JLP "may be one of the most important steps forward ever taken in the history of the Jamaican political process".

He has therefore charged party supporters "to co-operate to end violence because what we need to do is not to fight each other and kill each other; what the poor of Jamaica need to do, is to unite together to fight the common enemy of poverty."

Mr. Manley was speaking in Montego Bay's Sam Sharpe Square Saturday night at the launching of his party's Local Government Election campaign at which the 187 party representatives were presented by PNP chairman and campaign director, Mr. P.J. Patterson.

While absolving his party from involvement with violence, Mr. Manley said he was "willing to believe, for whatever reason, that this time around the other side (the JLP) is sincere" adding that his party was sincere and "we have never wanted violence." To cheering supporters, Mr. Manley declared: "I say to all of you, let us honour that agreement. Let us start a campaign tonight in which we argue about the issues; we talk about the problems but we do

so in the spirit of democracy which is a system of ideas and argument and not a system of violence and killing."

In a critical look at Prime Minister Edward Seaga's economic policies, Mr. Manley said they were based on "promises and stupidity," and that deregulation was "a fine name for nonsense" and "did more harm to the people of Jamaica than anything that has happened in the last 25 years."

Declaring that it was time for this Government to go, the PNP leader said that "on July 29, we are not fighting a local government election as such; this is a referendum. It is a judgment upon the Government of Seaga, and when that judgment is passed and the votes have been counted we are going to be in a moral position to say to Seaga the time has come to resign and let the people choose the central national government of Jamaica."

Describing Mr. Seaga as being "jumpy" and "nervous", Mr. Manley said the Prime Minister's threat that "if anybody pressure him into an election dem either going lose the work or have to migrate and go away, or go to prison," obviously referred to him but declared that that was a "bluff".

The PNP campaign which has as its theme "Say No To Seaga", was also addressed by party spokesman

on Local Government, Ralph Brown, who accused the JLP Government of destroying that institution, and vowed that a PNP government would restore it.

According to Mr. Brown, Mr. Seaga "is the first dictator that this country has ever produced."

On the election, Mr. Brown said that it was twofold: "It is important that we win it to maintain the institution of local government, and secondly we must win this election not only simply majority, but we must win it with such an overwhelming majority that come the 30th of the month, we will begin the trek forward to demand a general election."

He said that "this Local Government Election is to establish our supremacy in the Parish Councils, but it's also the barometer to what must come next and that is the General Election."

Mr. Brown noted that the international community was watching the election and declared that "the time is going to come when we are going to have to confront Seaga."

Also addressing the meeting, which was chaired by Mr. Howard Cooke, was Clive Dobson, chairman of the Joint Trade Union Research Development Centre, Mr. Patterson, and the party's general secretary, Dr. Paul Robertson, who introduced the 60 members slated to contest the next general elections.

## Seaga on Campaign Atmosphere

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 8 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

[Text]

Prime Minister Edward Seaga, Leader of the JLP, said yesterday that the elections were being held "in an atmosphere of peace" which was prevailing throughout the land.

Mr. Seaga was speaking at the Denham Town Primary School, nomination centre for his West Kingston Constituency, which has two divisions — Denham Town and Tivoli Gardens.

Four candidates, two from the JLP and two from the PNP, were nominated. They are: Tivoli Gardens — Mr. Lex Campbell, JLP, 29, teacher and social worker and Mr. Rhodes Wright, PNP, 46-year-old businessman. In Denham Town division the candidates are: Lorna Leslie, JLP, 42, liaison officer and Mr. Dennis Ho, PNP, 40, project co-ordinator.

PNP Constituency Caretaker, Mr. Clinton Davy, arrived at the nomination Centre, Denham Town Primary School, with about 20 supporters including the candidates, in a

minibus and a car at approximately ten minutes to eleven. Both PNP divisional candidates presented the Returning Officer, Mrs. Clover Thompson, with white roses which she placed in a vase. Things were quiet during the processing of their papers.

Mr. Seaga arrived with a crowd of several hundred supporters shortly after noon. The two JLP candidates jointly presented Mrs. Thompson with a pink corsage which they pinned to her dress. Mr. Campbell said that it was: "a symbol of harmony in our country, and we hope that it may continue."

Mr. Seaga said the atmosphere of peace was only possible because of the Government's deliberate policy of reducing political tension, which had been done by curtailing the type of rhetoric which increased tensions, and effectively dealing with victimization.

Victimization was now at the lowest level it has even been in the country's modern political history and because of this there was greater harmony than in the past. It allowed the political parties greater control over their supporters who had not been whipped up to induce tension,

he said.

Mr. Seaga said that his Government had so reduced party political feelings in the past five years, that now it was possible to hold elections the way that they should be held — on the basis of selecting the better candidates, as there was 'better party'.

Speaking to the Gleaner after the nominations, Mr. Seaga said that he did not believe the alterations to the boundaries of his constituency would seriously affect the chances of his party's two candidates in his constituency, which are JLP strongholds.

He said that the alterations had meant the addition of some 3,000 PNP votes to the constituency and some 2,000 JLP votes, but that his party's majority in the constituency was always so substantial that he felt it would have little effect.

After the nomination process, Mr. Seaga led a march of his supporters through the southern section of his constituency including Little King Street and Charles Street. They were joined by hundreds more, ending up in a big bell-ringing, singing and dancing crowd at the Tivoli Gardens Community Centre.

## Manley Remarks

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 8 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

[Text]

President of the People's National Party (PNP) Mr. Michael Manley said yesterday that his party was going all out to win the Local Government election on July 29 and said the PNP considered the election campaign a "peaceful occasion." He said it was the first time in nearly six years that people in the country were getting a chance to vote.

Mr. Manley's comments

came while he led a march of over 200 cheering supporters to the Nomination Centre for Central Kingston at Alpha Primary School. Asked how many seats his Party expected to win, Mr. Manley said, laughing, "I'll tell you that by midnight on July 29. We are going all out to win. We will not be encouraging any acts of violence, as we consider this a peaceful occasion, hence the rose buds which we took here today."

He was referring to the presentation of rose buds by his party's candidates to Returning Officer Mr. Lanceford Blackwood and Election clerk, Miss Sonia Gregory.

Also in the crowd with Mr. Manley was former KSAC Mayor and former Minister of Local Government under the PNP, Mr. Ralph Brown. He is

the PNP candidate for the Allman Town division where the JLP candidate is Mr. Alden Brown, 34, businessman. Mr. Ralph Brown said he viewed his chances as "very good". He saw his role as serving as "a catalyst for the General Elections."

Mr. Manley also lead a large group of supporters into the Nomination centre for East Kingston and Port Royal. Mr. Manley is Constituency caretaker for that Constituency.

The PNP candidates — Miss Marjorie Taylor of the Springfield division and Elfreda Bedward of the Norman Gardens division — presented roses to personnel from the Electoral Office. Miss Taylor in presenting a rose to Returning Officer

Mr. Garth Kiddoe, said it was symbolic of how they would be running the election campaign. Mrs. Bedward presented another rose to Electoral Clerk Miss Dollan Grant and expressed similar sentiment.

JLP candidates for that division are: Paul Sinclair for Norman Gardens division and Wesley McDermott for the Springfield division. Mr. Earl Williams, machinist, was nominated as an Independent candidate.

After the PNP nominations, when the crowd came out of the compound led by Mr. Manley, traffic was held up for a few minutes on Windward Road, as PNP supporters milled around. Police were out in large numbers and cleared the way.

The PNP crowd numbered in the hundreds.

Mr. Manley told reporters that the PNP was working for a peaceful campaign.

He said it was the first time in nearly six years that the people of the country would be getting a chance to express their democratic views as to what they wanted for the future of the country.

The Local Government elections, he said, was an important day for democracy and he would be listening carefully to what the people would be saying, as this would be their chance to say what they wanted for the future.

### Nominations-Day Incidents

Kingston THE DAILY CLEANER in English 8 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

[Text]

**OVER 400 PERSONS** were nominated yesterday to contest the July 29 Local Government elections. The day was generally peaceful, marred by three major incidents on Spanish Town Road, in May Pen and in Falmouth.

Shots were fired in the Spanish Town Road area when PNP and WPJ supporters confronted each other near a polling station. One candidate, Mr. John Houghton, had to be escorted to the Nomination Centre by police.

In Trelawny, PNP supporters threw stones at a group of JLP supporters marching past the PNP office in Falmouth. People in the JLP crowd retaliated and a woman was cut on her face, a report from the Gleaner Western Bureau said. The police also reported that a Ministry of Agriculture vehicle was passing by the PNP office when an object believed to be either a stone or a bottle was hurled at it smashing the windshield.

At Guinea Tree near May Pen a stone- and bottle-throwing incident broke out between PNP and JLP supporters early in the afternoon. Two PNP cars were damaged. Court had to be adjourned early in May Pen as hundreds of people from both parties sang, marched and shouted

slogans through the town. Repeated appeals for the crowds to calm down were ignored.

The elections are being contested by the governing Jamaica Labour Party, the People's National Party (PNP), and the Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ) — all of which have contested local Government elections before — and for the first time the Jamaican American Party (JAP). There are also several Independent candidates. The PNP and JLP have entered candidates in all 187 divisions, the WPJ in 14 divisions in eight parishes, and the JAP in 6 divisions. There will be a four-way race in some divisions, but at press time the complete list of candidates was not available.

A large number of former Councillors from both major parties including incumbents are contesting the Local Government elections, but the number was not available last night. In the 1981 Local Government election, the JLP won 252 of the 275 seats and the PNP 23. The JLP also won control of the 12 parish Councils and the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation (KSAC). Since then the number of Council divisions has been cut to 187 with most divisions now larger.

The incidents yesterday went against the tone of and calls for peace by leaders of the major political parties yesterday and in days running up to Nomination Day. Roses and other symbols of peace were given to Returning Officers in various centres and party supporters in some towns attempted to out-sing each other or danced and sang in groups without any incidents. Returning Officers also asked for a peaceful campaign and wished the candidates well. In a few instances there were minor technical problems with papers but the candidates were eventually nominated. In one case

however, in the West Yallahs division of West St. Thomas Constituency Trevor Ming who should have been nominated as PNP candidate had to be replaced as his name was not on the voters list. Contesting that division are: Mr. Bruce Dawkins, JLP; Mr. Hubert Donaldson, PNP, Mr. D. Lamont, Independent and Mr. Reginald Bogle, Independent. Mr. Bogle is an incumbent Coun-

cillor for the JLP and was not chosen as one of the Party's candidates.

In the St. Andrew Southern Constituency represented by Mr. Earl Spencer, the two candidates there arrived after Mr. Spencer and with police escort. PNP supporters had earlier arrived with Mr. Bobby Jones, PNP Constituency Representative and the candidates for the two divisions and sing party songs.

### Candidate's Withdrawal

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 8 Jul 86 p 1

[Text]

The prospective candidate for the Mona Division of the Eastern St. Andrew Constituency, Mr. Winston Smith, contractor, was not nominated yesterday because he was beaten Friday night and his car smashed while he was on private business in his division. Mr. William B. Hasfal was nominated for the PNP in his place and the JLP candidate will be Mrs. Rema Galloway.

Mr. Oswald Seymour, PNP Constituency Representative Eastern St. Andrew, in which the Mona division falls, yesterday complained to the Gleaner that residents of the Backbush area were disturbing other sections of the constituency. He said that this had been happening even before campaigns for the Local Government election started.

Reports are that Mr. Smith along with a friend went to Mountain View on personal business. He was

seen by political activists from Backbush, who identified him as the PNP representative for the area. The activists then robbed him of jewellery and his attache case which contained personal documents, including his passport. He was hit in the head with a rock and his car smashed.

At the Nomination centre, at the Mona Secondary yesterday, there were no incidents. However, PNP supporters also complained to the Gleaner that enroute to the centre, they had to divert from the planned route as a few political activists were seen blocking the road. They also said that when they were marching to the centre, a bus passed and a 'slingshot' was used to injure a party supporter in the crowd of marchers. The PIC had no reports about the incidents.

The Hon Edmund Bartlett presented flowers to the Returning Offi-

cer, Mr. Lloyd Dobson, his assistant, Mrs. Noreen Blackman and representatives of the media as a symbol of what the JLP hopes the campaigns and elections will be. He said his party hoped for a period of decency, integrity and peace. Mr. Hasfal also presented flowers.

Mr. Dobson endorsed Mr. Bartlett's comments on the hope for a peaceful elections. He expressed best wishes to both candidates.

Mrs. Neira-Wilson, PNP candidate for Papine Division, whose husband Maurice Wilson was shot and killed recently, presented flowers to Mr. Dobson and Mrs. Blackman. She said the flowers was a symbol of peace to demonstrate that the PNP was determined to have a violent-free elections. Mr. Anthony Rowe is the JLP candidate in that division.

The respective parties held brief meetings at the centre before dispersing.

### Condemnation of Attack

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 9 Jul 86 p 3

[Text]

Mr. Edmund Bartlett, MP for St. Andrew East, yesterday told the Gleaner he condemned the attack in the Mountain View area Friday night on Mr. Winston Smith, who had planned to run as a councillor for the PNP in the Mona division of the constituency.

Mr. Bartlett said he learnt of the attack on Saturday afternoon and he immediately visited Mr. Smith's home and spoke with Mrs. Smith as Mr. Smith was not there then. He offered his own regrets at the whole happening, as the Smiths were well known to him.

"We play dominoes in the community there with Mr. Smith regularly," Mr. Bartlett said, adding that he knew the Smiths well and had been close to Mr. Smith through a service club of which both are members.

He said the news report in yesterday's Gleaner was not accurate in

saying that Mr. Smith went into the area on private business. It was when Mr. Smith identified himself at a "nine night" as a PNP candidate and started distributing pamphlets that the unfortunate incident occurred, he said.

"But whether he went campaigning or not," Mr. Bartlett said, "I condemn the act because it should not have happened and I don't condone that kind of behaviour by any

of my supporters.

"I have given a commitment to the whole process of free and fair elections, free from fear and from intimidation and I intend to carry out that. And therefore I am giving full support to the efforts to bring those who are responsible to justice."

He said to make inferences about some Mountain View residents that they are attacking other areas of the constituency was not true. He said

he would love to get "specific instances where Mountain View people have gone to other areas to attack them because that has never happened to our knowledge."

He said his supporters had not blocked the road. He had agreed with the Returning Officer that his supporters would visit the nomination centre from 10 a.m. to 12 noon and the PNP supporters would go from 12 noon to 2 p.m. He said nobody was blocking any road.

## Youth Groups' Conduct

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 9 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

[Text]

**L**EADERS OF THE YOUTH ARMS of the major political parties agreed yesterday to uphold the Code of Conduct for a violence-free election. They were meeting at a prayer breakfast organised by the National Committee of Christian Youth Leaders at the Four Seasons Hotel.

Those affirming their commitment to the Code of Conduct earlier agreed to by the major political parties, were: Chairman Mr. Clive Williams of Young Jamaica, the JLP-affiliated body; the representative of the People's National Party's Youth Organization, Mr. Lorenzo Ellis; and Mr. Dougall Campbell of the Young Communist League.

The Code of Conduct states that candidates in the political contest will adhere to certain standards of behaviour at both the constituency and the national levels. It also established mutually acceptable standards of behaviour and practice for representatives of political parties at all times but particularly during periods of campaigning and emphasized the total rejection of violence or smear tactics.

The JLP youth arm leader, Mr. Williams, appealed to the supporters of both parties to make the 1986 elections violence-free and pledged on behalf of his organization to uplift and uphold the peace pact agreed upon by both parties.

Mr. Ellis of the PNPYO commended the leaders on their agreement and said that he hoped that there would be ongoing discussions on the issue. He said that shortly after the agreement of the Code of Conduct was made, the

leadership of his party had instructed the supporters to carry out the Code of Conduct so that gang warfare and tribalism could be prevented.

The representative of the Young Communist League also expressed his organization's support for the move.

The youth leaders expressed their rejection of the use of violence and smear tactics in elections.

Chairman of the Christian Youth Leaders, Mr. Dexter Gordon, commended the political leaders and said that Jamaican politics had entered a new era of maturity.

"The leaders are now willing to talk and are saying that they will not condone violence... this is a good sign." He challenged the churches to initiate projects try to end the occurrence of political violence.

The National Committee which comprises 17 umbrella Christian organizations was founded last June to plan and implement programmes with a Christian character and having a broad-based Christian support as part of the International Youth Year.

At a similar meeting last year the Committee suggested, among other things, that an independent investigative body be established to reveal those who are at fault in creating the political conflicts and that a state committee for youth employment be established.

The leaders were accompanied by representatives of their respective parties and several other members of the Christian Committee, including the vice-chairman, Mr. Al Miller, were also present.



## Manley on JBC 'Manipulation'

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 14 Jul 86 p 3

[Text]

President of the People's National Party, Mr. Michael Manley said yesterday that there was a "blatant attempt" by the Jamaica Labour Party to manipulate the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation to try to help them win the elections.

Speaking at the PNP Women's Movement annual conference at the Wyndham Hotel, the Party leader said, "...when the PNP becomes the Government again we are going to solve the JBC's problem by setting up some sort of committee that takes it clean out of party politics..."

He said that in the reporting of

the campaigning for both parties, he had noticed that "for every five thousand" the JLP leader addressed there were five pictures while for his party there was no picture.

"We are very saddened to see the blatant attempt to manipulate the JBC to try to help the Government win this election...they are not doing any good in helping to heal the more savage breaches in the society", Mr. Manley said.

Mr. Manley said that he was sorry that part of the agreement — the Code of Conduct between the two major parties governing the elections

— was "being soiled".

Turning to political violence he said that it was "a particularly wicked phenomenon" because it never had been necessary as "...there never has been any objective reason for one set of ghetto youths to shoot down another."

Mr. Manley last night addressed a PNP meeting at Windward Road and Paradise Street after attending several PNP functions in the Corporate Area yesterday.

## Seaga Letter To Manley

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 15 Jul 86 p 3

[Text]

Jamaica House last night released the text of a letter Prime Minister Seaga has written to PNP Leader Mr. Michael Manley pointing to recent acts of political violence and urging that the contending political parties "carefully avoid acts which are either provocative or intimidating."

Citing incidents in Falmouth and Spanish Town, the Prime Minister spoke of "the urgent need for us to exert every will and effort in order that the sincere accord we have will be preserved."

"For my part, the leadership of the Jamaica Labour Party throughout this campaign will continue to do everything possible to avoid provocative actions or aggressive or divisive statements," Mr. Seaga said.

Earlier yesterday, a shooting incident in Spanish Town, during a tour of the Old Capital by Mr. Manley, prompted Police Commissioner Herman Ricketts to send a senior police investigator to go on-the-spot and make a report back to him.

Police Commissioner Ricketts told the *Gleaner* yesterday evening: "There are conflicting reports; I have

sent a senior investigator to find out and give me the facts of the matter, and until then I can't make any statement."

It was not clear who fired the shots or what were the circumstances that caused the firing.

A PNP spokesman, Mr. Hartley Neita, told the *Gleaner* yesterday that at around 4.50 p.m. shots were fired at a party led by Mr. Manley, who was on a walking tour of Spanish Town as part of the Local Government election campaign in south St. Catherine.

Mr. Manley, he said, had finished the tour of Spanish Town and was on his way to Old Harbour when in the vicinity of the Municipal Bus Terminus they came on a roadblock.

The persons who had blocked the road started throwing stones, and shots were fired. Security personnel with Mr. Manley fired shots in the air.

The crowd did not move and Mr. Manley and his party "diverted" through Spanish Town, and went on their way to Old Harbour to continue the tour.

In another report, a spokesman for the JLP Chairman and Member of Parliament for Central St. Catherine, Mr. Bruce Golding, said that a group of JLP supporters gathered outside the Munamar Building, the Constituency Office of the MP, were shot at yesterday.

The supporters fled to safety into Mr. Golding's office who then came out and walked in the direction from which he was told the shots had been fired.

His security officer returned the fire — at which stage, the spokesman said, PNP supporters ran.

Mr. Golding, who reported the matter to the police said that the incident was a direct provocation by the PNP, as it was not traditional to hold meetings at the constituency office of one's opponent.



## Parties' Joint Statement

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 16 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

[Text]

The leaders of the two major political parties have resolved to continue to work for the success of the peace accord in the current Local Government election campaign.

A joint statement issued yesterday gave an agreed account of incidents during campaigning in Spanish Town on Tuesday and attributed "points of tension" to "a lack of communication."

The statement said:

"The Prime Minister and Leader of the Jamaica Labour Party, the Rt. Hon. Edward Seaga, met with the President of the People's National Party, Mr. Michael Manley at Vale Royal last night for discussions concerning an incident which occurred in Spanish Town yesterday.

"The discussions revealed that a lack of communication throughout the day unnecessarily created points of tension which led to the incident. It was decided to issue a statement of facts to be drafted by the General Secretaries of the two Parties, Mr. Ryan Peralto and Dr. Paul Robertson; Assistant General Secretary of the J.L.P., Karl Samuda; the Hon. Winston Spaulding, Minister of National Security and Justice, and Mr. K.D. Knight, P.N.P. Spokesman on National Security, all of whom were present.

"The facts are:

"A meeting was planned and announced by the P.N.P. to be held at the Munamar in Spanish Town, to be addressed by Mr. Michael Manley and other P.N.P. leaders on Monday night.

"Mr. Ryan Peralto, General Secretary of the J.L.P., contacted his counterpart, Dr. Paul Robertson on Monday morning and reminded that the Munamar Building was the J.L.P. Constituency Office site, currently operated by the Honourable Bruce Golding.

"The General Secretary, Dr. Robertson, agreed in principle that to hold the meeting in close proximity of the J.L.P.'s Office was not consistent with the peace accord. He instructed the local P.N.P. organisation to move the meeting and the Spanish Town Bus Terminal was agreed upon. The P.N.P. General Secretary contacted the President of the P.N.P. who was on tour and had not known the precise location in Spanish Town for the meeting, and he confirmed Dr. Robertson's decision to change the arrangements.

"Unfortunately, the Honourable Bruce Golding who was involved in calming his supporters throughout Spanish Town, some of whom had gathered to protest the holding of the meeting at their headquarters, was not aware of this decision. In the course of the afternoon, Mr. Manley was driving through Spanish Town at the head of a motorcade on the way to Ensom City and Old Harbour. It

was at this stage that the motorcade ran into the J.L.P. crowd.

"In an effort to prevent any breach of the peace, the Security Forces fired some warning shots to disperse the crowd.

"At the Vale Royal meeting, which was held within hours of the incident, it was clear that the P.N.P. leader, Mr. Michael Manley, was not aware of the precise proposed location of the meeting until the J.L.P. objection was received.

"The Member of Parliament, the Hon. Bruce Golding, was also unaware that Mr. Michael Manley was not advised about the exact location of the meeting and had agreed that the meeting should be changed when it was brought to his attention.

"It is clear from discussions that the incident which occurred was a result of a lack of communication.

"It was also clear, therefore, that the early statements on this incident were made in the absence of all the facts.

"Among other things, the meeting agreed on improved lines of communication and consultations between the two Parties, which should go a far way in helping to avoid similar incidents in the future and will enhance the spirit and intent of the accord.

"Both Party Leaders resolved to continue to work for the success of the Peace Accord which has so far achieved a high level of overall success."

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CSO: 3298/513

## POLLS DIFFER IN PREDICTING RESULTS IN LOCAL ELECTIONS

## Support for PNP

Kingston THE SUNDAY GLEANER in English 6 Jul 86 p 1

[Text]

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** The June, 1986 Stone Poll was carried out by Professor Carl Stone on behalf of the "Daily Gleaner" over the period June 27 to June 29.

The sample includes 2,844 persons interviewed from 20 areas in Kingston and St. Andrew and 84 areas in the other twelve parishes.

The estimated sample error is  $\pm 3\%$ .

Unlike earlier Stone Polls which cover mainly opinions on topical issues, this poll is designed specifically to forecast the results of the forthcoming local government elections to be held on July 29, 1986.

This is the largest Stone Poll and was designed to produce parish predictions. The parish estimates are less reliable and accurate than the overall national sample.

The People's National Party has increased its lead over the JLP in the June Poll by two per cent and is now expected to gain 62% of the popular vote in the Local Government Elections called for July 29.

Tomorrow is Nomination Day, and the two major parties are expected to nominate candidates in all of the 187 local government divisions. The Workers Party of Jamaica has said it will nominate 13 candidates in eight parishes, and it is expected that there will be a small number of independent candidates nominated.

Based on the findings of the June, 1986 Stone Poll, the PNP is expected to win a comfortable majority in the forthcoming local government elections set for July 29, 1986.

The Poll revealed a 62% PNP strength among persons likely to vote, with 2% supporting the WPJ and 36% supporting the governing JLP.

The June Poll further reveals that the PNP is leading in all parishes, with the largest majorities being in St. Ann, Kingston and St. Andrew, Manchester, St. Catherine, St. James and Westmoreland. With the exception of St. Catherine these are all traditional PNP parishes where before 1980 the PNP recorded majorities even when it lost elections.

The smallest PNP majorities are in Trelawny, Hanover and St. Thomas.

Since the 1976 general elections, victorious parties have won vote majorities in all or almost all parishes in both local government and general elections.

The 1986 Stone Poll is consistent with that new trend.

When asked as to what are the major issues in the elections, the following issues in order of importance were cited as being uppermost in voters minds.

- 1. unemployment and the provision of jobs
- 2. the pressures on the poor people and which party can help
- 3. the fixing of roads and improvement in water supplies
- 4. deteriorating health and educational services
- 5. the need for a peaceful election free of violence
- 6. the need to change the government

In most areas only a small minority of citizens could identify the names of the candidates representing the respective political parties.

Most voters intended to vote on the basis of preference between the parties rather than on the basis of evaluations of the candidates.

Compared to the May, 1986 Stone Poll this finding represents a 2% increase in PNP strength and a 2% fall in JLP strength.

The results are contrary to JLP polls which the Prime Minister announced as revealing an increase in JLP strength since the May, 1986 Stone Poll.

The PNP majority over the JLP now stands at 26% compared to the 22% found in the May Poll and is approximately of the same magnitude as the 27% majority found in their December, 1985 Stone Poll.

[Further details of the Stone poll, published 7 July in THE DAILY GLEANER, page 3, showed the following:]

Approximately 65% to 68% of the eligible voters are expected to vote in this election in the rural parishes. In the Corporate Area the turnout is likely to be in the region of 55% to 60%.

**Question:** Which party would you like to see win in the forthcoming local government election in your parish?

**Answers:** supporting the PNP 62%  
supporting the JLP 36%  
supporting the WPJ 2%

64% of the persons interviewed expressed an interest in voting in the elections, while 36% were not interested.

PNP strength across the various parishes was as follows

KSAC .....	65%	Hanover .....	55%
St. Thomas .....	54%	Westmoreland .....	64%
Portland .....	59%	St. Elizabeth .....	61%
St. Mary .....	63%	Manchester .....	66%
St. Ann .....	67%	Clarendon .....	59%
Trelawny .....	53%	St. Catherine .....	64%
St. James .....	63%		

#### JLP-Commissioned Poll

FL101650 Bridgetown CANA in English 1604 GMT 10 Jul 86

[Text] Kingston, 10 Jul (CANA)--An opinion poll commissioned by the ruling Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) today put the ruling party ahead of the opposition People's National Party (PNP) in the run-up to the 29 July municipal elections.

The poll was conducted by Ritch and Associates, a public relations and marketing company whose principal is a pro-government columnist, Dawn Ritch.

Ritch and Associates gave the JLP 52 percent support in the Kingston/St Andrew area of Jamaica and the opposition PNP 48 percent support.

The poll conflicts sharply with the results obtained by well-respected pollster Carl Stone, whose surveys have given the PNP a substantial lead over the JLP, including 65 percent support in the Kingston/St Andrew area.

Ritch reported a swing towards the JLP attributed in part to the high rating the government received in its handling of the floods last month.

But Ritch still steered clear of predicting an outright win for either side, declaring: ...(these surveys) suggest that the political race is a close one.

But Stone predicted a clear victory for the PNP, which its polls show ahead of the JLP in all parishes.

The Stone poll gave the PNP overall national support of 62 percent towards the end of June. This is a two percent improvement in the party's performance in an earlier poll conducted in May.

Jamaicans will elect local councils in municipal elections on 29 July. They were postponed twice before, and the PNP has billed them as a referendum on government's policies.

### Stone's Poll Analysis

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 14 Jul 86 p 8

[Column by Carl Stone: Battle of the Polls"]

[Text]

In the run up to the 1980 parliamentary elections there was a bruising battle between rival opinion polls (Stone Polls, JBC-Daily News Polls and PNP polls) which added a touch of drama to the election contest.

Since the political parties are treating the upcoming local elections as a mini-general elections, it is perhaps appropriate that there should be another battle of polls with the Dawn Ritch Polls challenging the Stone Polls.

Dawn Ritch is, of course, one of my favourite people, although our political views diverge quite substantially on most issues. But I have always admired her aggressive professionalism, and her self-confidence as a professional woman. Although I have good reason to feel that her poll results are wrong I have 100% confidence in her integrity and honesty as a professional.

The two poll findings differ quite considerably as can be seen from the following figures.

The Stone Poll is in fact forecasting a PNP landslide of over 60% of the popular vote for the PNP and between 75% and 80% of the seats. The Ritch Poll is in fact predicting a similar JLP landslide with at least 60-62% of the popular vote to the JLP and 75% to 80% of the seats. If the PNP is behind in the Corporate Area, the JLP has to be leading in all parishes. Of course - neither Miss Ritch nor Mr. Seaga has said so and I wonder why they have failed to read that prediction into the Ritch June Corporate Area poll result.

### Misleading

The Corporate Area is a traditionally strong PNP area. Since the 1960's it has only been won by the JLP over the 1980-81 period when the PNP was highly unpopular. Since the 1970's the PNP's strength in the Corporate Area has been at least 10% ahead of its strength in the country as a whole. In 1977 when the PNP got 67% of the national level local government vote, its strength in the Corporate Area was 78%. In 1981 when the PNP's local

### Recent poll results (all parishes)

	<u>May</u>		<u>June</u>	
	<u>Ritch Poll</u>	<u>Stone Poll</u>	<u>Ritch Poll</u>	<u>Stone Poll</u>
JLP	47%	38%	38%	36%
PNP	53%	60%	60%	62%
WPJ	0%	2%	2%	2%

### Corporate Area

	<u>May</u>		<u>June</u>	
	<u>Ritch Poll</u>	<u>Stone Poll</u>	<u>Ritch Poll</u>	<u>Stone Poll</u>
JLP	45%	36%	52%	33%
PNP	55%	62%	48%	65%
WPJ	0%	2%	0%	2%

government vote dropped to 35% islandwide, the PNP got 48% of the Corporate Area vote. Miss Ritch's June Poll therefore suggests a minimum 62% strength islandwide.

Both Mr. Seaga and Miss Ritch are therefore being quite misleading when they suggest that the Ritch polls point to a close election. The June Ritch Poll in fact predicts a JLP landslide.

In 1980 we proved our rival pollsters wrong and history is about to repeat itself.

Miss Ritch claims quite correctly that her sample methods meet internationally accepted standards for the conduct of scientific polls. She further contends that her error margin is 2.6%.

Both claims raise more questions than they answer.

Most polls conducted in the Caribbean (in Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica) meet international standards as regards sampling methodology but most of them have come up with embarrassingly inaccurate results. The casualty list here is quite long.

Among such inaccurate scientific polls were the Nunes poll in Trinidad which had predicted a PNM victory and the recent polls in Barbados which said the election there was too close to call although the seat and popular vote majority won by Barrow's party was massive.

### Flawed

Miss Ritch herself has had bad experience in polling in the 1970's when her public relations firm MARS carried out a constituency poll for Mr. Eric Bell of the PNP prior to the 1976 election. The private poll predicted a 70% vote for Bell when in fact he ended up with only 53% of the vote. The error margin here was close to 20%.

Now Miss Ritch knows nothing about polling, sampling and statistics but in the case of the Eric Bell poll she engaged the services of some high-powered UWI academics (Dr. Eddie Greene and Professor Al Francis). Francis who is certainly more knowledgeable than I am in statistical theory designed the sample. Ritch

has most likely hired another high-powered statistician to design her sample this time also.

Most of the flawed Eastern Caribbean polls used samples impeccably designed by trained statisticians.

So why have most of them been inaccurate? Is it that Stone Polls have simply been having a good run of luck where other pollsters have not?

The answer is a very simple no.

I don't know any more statistics than many who have designed these inaccurate polls. A UWI academic Steve DeCastro (with an Engineering-Quantitative Economics background) who condemned my sampling methodology in 1980 knows far more theoretical statistics than I. But there is often a huge gap between theory and practice. After I proved him wrong on election night he apologised most profusely.

### Types of samples

Scientific research methods are not universally applicable. They have to be tailored to fit the peculiarities of the local environment.

See my "reflection on polling in Jamaica", Social and Economic Studies, March 1984.

There are two types of samples used in polling worldwide. These are random or probability samples based on selecting a random list of names from a population and quota samples. Many European pollsters use quota samples while all US pollsters use random or probability samples. We use quota samples and Miss Ritch random samples.

The textbook tells us that probability samples are the most accurate. But there is a problem here which the high-powered statistician is often unaware of. To use a probability sample requires that you go around with a list of names asking for John Brown and Tom Stokes to answer your poll questions.

Fifteen years ago when I started to do political surveys here I used this probability sample method. I discovered very early that it was contaminated by huge margins of error in the field because voters became suspicious and fearful of the fact that the interviewers had their names. Our research on the subject

has pointed to three basic problems with this type of sampling. Response rates tend to be low, voters tend to falsely indicate support for the party in power and response errors in the field increase considerably. I designed a Stone Poll quota sampling method which has worked where textbook random samples have been proven inaccurate all over the Caribbean.

### Error margin

By sending her interviewers out in the field armed with a list of names and asking for specific voters Miss Ritch's polls are guaranteed to be contaminated by large margins of field error of the sort which have plagued other inaccurate Caribbean polls and pollsters, although like them her sample methods are what the textbook recommends.

Our polls and European pollsters have shown that quota samples can be as accurate as probability random sampling in the USA. Our track record so far is as follows as regards differences between the actual election vote and our poll predictions.

1976	1980	1981
0%	3%	2%

The expected error margin for a random sample of the sample size we use is about 3-4%. Gallop's average error is about 3%.

The claim that the error factor in the Ritch poll is 2.6% is misleading. This refers only to sampling error while 90% of the errors that occur in Caribbean polls are not sampling errors but response errors in the field.

When we speak of error in our polls we refer not to sample error only but to total estimated error computed by comparing the actual national party vote in the last elections with how voters in our sample said they voted.

We welcome Dawn to this renewed battle of the polls. If she changes her sample methodology in the future, she is likely to give us a rather close contest for the polling crown. I hope she does not retire hurt after she gets clobbered in round one.



## SEAGA HOLDS NEWS CONFERENCE AT CARICOM SUMMIT

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 5 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by Vincent Tulloch]

[Text]

GEORGETOWN, July 4

Jamaica, citing a West Indian Federation as an 'echo of the past' has dismissed mounting regional calls for a revival of political union of English-speaking countries.

Jamaica's position was outlined by Prime Minister Edward Seaga at a press conference here a few hours before flying out for Kingston after attending the 4-day summit of Caribbean Community states in this South American co-operative republic.

The theme of regional political integration (federation) was strong through the summit with leaders from Guyana's Desmond Hoyte to Commonwealth Secretary General Shridath Ramphal echoing the call recently made by Caribbean Development Bank president and distinguished economist William Dumas for a revival of a West Indian Federation by the 1990s.

Stating Jamaica's position Seaga said "The Federation issue was settled many years ago in 1961 when it disintegrated. There is one thing which I think ought to be brought to mind. It is a fallacy to believe that the Caribbean will speak with the same voice, same intensity and gain the same respect if it were speaking with the same voice."

He pointed to the role of the Caribbean in the organization of American States where he said the

Caribbean makes a vital contribution and is recognised as such without being a single political unit. The Caribbean he said has benefitted from being many nations speaking with the same voice (language).

Continuing Seaga said "federation, integration, whatever you call it, is an echo of the past and I do not think we will live to see it."

Turning to the other international issues, Seaga said that the situation in Haiti is unstable and will continue to be so for some time until the people can work out some system that will be useful to their particular situation.

Turning to domestic issues Seaga said that the government is very close to sealing the deal in the forward purchasing of oil which he spoke earlier this year during his budget presentation. He said that the falling oil prices will bring the price he has in mind closer thus enabling the deal to be sealed.

On the bauxite deal he said the talks are coming closer to areas of agreement but nothing is ready as yet for a final decision.

On the question of electoral monitoring of voting by foreign observers he said that he would have no problems with that if the observers are from reputable organizations. He said that the electoral machinery now in the hands of independent

people both major political parties will have no reason to complain about election conduct.

Discussing wider Caribbean issues, he said that under a new arrangement with the Central American state of Belize, Jamaica will process wet ethanol from that country at its local plant for sale to the United States where it was stated that president Reagan has promised to veto impending protectionist legislation that would hurt the Jamaican operations.

Expanding on the ethanol production he said that Petrojam the state oil corporation has installed a 10 million gallon storage facility and that Tropicana the private manufacturer its 20 million gallon storage plant from local material.

Turning to trade with Trinidad and Tobago Seaga said that despite his meeting with Chambers in Kingston last year and again in Port of Spain this year trade has not returned to the level he expected. He said that the interference of the Central Bank in Port of Spain and the issuing of licences continue to affect trade between the two countries.

He said that Jamaica is the only country to remove the stamp duty on CARICOM goods and if others did not do likewise Jamaica have to rethink its position.

# GOVERNMENT REJECTS ECONOMIC PROPOSALS OF FOREIGN-AID TEAM

FL190100 Bridgetown CANA in English 2221 GMT 18 Jul 86

[By Paget de Freitas]

[Text] Kingston, 18 Jul (CANA)—Having rejected the advice of its major foreign aid backers, the Jamaica Government hopes to prove them wrong and return to substantial economic growth during 1986-87.

Faced with difficult municipal elections this month and after over three years of harsh austerity, Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Edward Seaga decided to loosen the knots with his budget presented in May.

Seaga, using greater flexibility afforded by the dramatic decline in oil prices, announced subsidies on some basic items whose prices had spiralled under his deregulation programme, doubled capital spending and pulled back a bit the high interest rates.

But more significantly, Seaga announced that he had rejected the findings of a mission he had invited from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which he had invited to take a fresh look at the Jamaican economy. The government had hoped to convince the mission that it was time to move from deflation to reflation.

Instead, Seaga said, the mission insisted on policies that would mean no economic growth this fiscal year after last year's near five percent decline, and only a one percent expansion in 1987-88.

We have told the fresh-look mission that these recommendations are not in keeping with the direction in which we must now move the economy after suffering many years of essential but painful adjustments through devaluations, redundancies, cost-cutting, and other measures to strengthen the competitiveness of the Jamaican dollar, Seaga declared

Instead, the government was pushing for substantial economic growth.

The economy is expected to return to a positive growth path beginning in fiscal year 1986-87 when it is expected to provide growth of five percent due largely to the effects of lower oil prices, according to the Central Bank.

According to the bank, public sector investment was expected to provide the main stimulus for growth directly and indirectly through multiplier effects on private consumption and increased capacity utilisation.

The Central Bank's analysis was made before the devastating flood rains and landslides in June that cost over 50 lives and more than J400 million dollars (one J dollar, 13 U.S. cents) worth of damage. A crunching blow was dealt to agriculture.

That, apparently, has not dulled the optimism of Jamaican officials--at least in public statements.

In a recent address to the Jamaica Agricultural Society (JAS), Central Bank Governor Dr Headley Brown noted that first quarter figures for the sector had shown a recovery after last year's decline and that 1986 was taking shape as a year of record production in agriculture.

The floods have lessened that possibility but they certainly have not entirely removed it, Brown said.

Flood rains or not, the fresh-look mission did not expect a rosy performance in the economy.

The mission's quantitative analysis suggests that even in the best economic circumstances--if the government undertook reforms, donor countries increased concessional aid immediately, and debts were rescheduled--only modest growth in Jamaica's output, consumption and employment can be expected over the next five years, it said in the summary of its report.

Substantial growth and balance of payments viability become possible by the early 1990's it added. In the absence of further policy reform, the economic situation will almost certainly deteriorate.

The report has not been made public but has been circulated among some economists and politicians, and the summary has found its way into the press.

But to ensure the possibility of future growth, substantial macro economic and structural reforms were necessary, and among the most immediate of these were further devaluations and efforts to sharply cut to overall public sector deficit.

These policies were aimed at increasing domestic savings, attracting foreign investment, and maintaining export competitiveness.

The current exchange rate of J5.5 dollars to one U.S. dollar was more realistic than the previous levels, but was being maintained by official intervention in the Central Bank-run allocation auctions and by limitations on those who can bid.

An immediate devaluation to a more realistic exchange rate, to be followed by an exchange rate policy designed to avoid over-valuation of the real rate (is required), the mission said.

The exchange rate, the mission added, was central to the entire structure of incentives relating to production for export and for keeping capital in and attracting it to Jamaica.

The mission estimated an overall public sector deficit last fiscal year of 13 percent of gross domestic product, though the central government deficit had come down since 1983-84, from 15 percent to less than seven percent of GDP.

It recommended that the government reduce overall public sector deficit this fiscal year by between five and six percent and thereafter the gradual phase down of the deficit to about two percent in 1990-91.

In the first year, the fall in oil prices would help cushion the adjustment, instead of passing the savings on to end product users. The government, however, has passed some of the savings on to commercial electricity users with lower rates, while converting the savings to industrial and commercial users to subsidies on basic food items.

The balance of the fiscal adjustment in the first year and reductions in subsequent years should come from improved performance of public sector enterprises, reduced employment throughout the public sector, curtailment of low-priority investment programmes, and divestment of public enterprises, the mission suggested.

Political observers say that such moves would be difficult for the government, which had already paid a heavy price for sacking thousands of public sector workers and reducing social and other services in its earlier adjustment efforts.

The mission also called for import tariff reductions that apply without exclusions, exemptions, or preferences in favour of particular sectors or enterprises.

The removal of monopoly powers granted to public sector enterprises in export and import and opening of opportunities for competition by the private sector at all levels should result in the phasing out of the Jamaica Commodity Trading Company, the state's bulk purchasing arm, and other external marketing entities should be made to meet their costs, the report said. All anti-export, anti-agriculture and anti-tourism biases should be removed.

The mission also recommended the abolition of liquidity ratios and a floor on interest on savings in the general development of a monetary policy that removed the discrimination in favour of public borrowing and created conditions for private sector expansion.

The members recognised that the policies should not place undue burden on the poorest in society whose basic needs rely heavily on imported foods and energy. A program for protecting these vulnerable groups could be built on the existing food stamp programme, the mission suggested, but at a lower cost than non-targeted measures that now exist.

Jamaica is now talking with the IMF for this year's programme under a U.S. 115 million dollars programme that is a little past halfway of its 14-month life.

Seaga's rejection of the mission proposals, no doubt is a crucial element of the talks. But the prime minister has told Jamaicans he has a contingency programme should the aid institutions insist on the austerity package. He has not, however, said what those plans are.

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CS0: 3298/513



## JLP RESIGNERS NOT TO BE NAMED AS OPPOSITION LEADERS

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 14 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

[Text]

**N**EITHER MR. HOWARD WEDEMIRE nor Mr. Anthony Abrahams, Members of Parliament who have resigned from the ruling Jamaica Labour Party but retain their seats in the House of Representatives, will be appointed Leader of the Opposition.

Governor General, Sir Florizel Glasspole said Saturday night that he would not be appointing any MP who had resigned from the JLP as Leader of Opposition.

He said on this matter he did not have to get the advice of anyone, including Queen Elizabeth II and Prime Minister Edward Seaga. He said he made the decision in his "discretion" and in his judgement.

The Governor General's statement answers the question of whether Mr. Wedemire or Mr. Abrahams, now independent opposition members would be appointed the Leader of the Opposition, in the one-party House.

Sir Florizel made his statement as he addressed the annual dinner of the Indo-Jamaica Cultural Society at the Immaculate High School.

He said he was responding to the Saturday Star editorial which questioned what he was going to do in response to the either of the two being appointed to the position. Sir Florizel said if either were appointed Opposition Leader it would be a mockery of the Constitution.

He quoted a section of the Constitution (Section 80, Sub-section 2) to the audience to explain when he could appoint an Opposition Leader.

"Whenever the Governor General has occasion to appoint a Leader of Opposition he shall in his discretion appoint the member of the House of Representatives, who in his judgement is best able to command the support of those members who do not support the Government or, if there is no such person, the member of that House, who in his judgement commands the support of the largest single group of such members who are prepared to support one leader."

The Governor General asked if he appointed either of the two persons to the position, whom would they lead. He said a group meant a number of persons considered together as being related in a natural or other way and in no way could one or two persons be a "large single group."

He said this was one occasion when no one advised him on what he should do; "not even Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II or Prime Minister Seaga. I am a sensible Governor General...no...no way...it is my discretion...my judgement tells me that the member or members (of Parliament) have no claim."

Sir Florizel called on the two to stop "confusing the people, stop humbugging the people and come straight."

Speaking with the **Gleaner** later, Sir Florizel said that he has sent a letter to Mr. Wedemire informing him of his decision on the matter. He said that Mr. Wedemire wrote him recently sending him a copy of the letter he (Wedemire) sent to the Speaker of the House, Mr. Alva Ross, asking Mr. Ross to recommend to the Governor General that he (Wedemire) be appointed the Leader of the Opposition.

... In a speech which resulted in a standing ovation, Sir Florizel told the audience that he like anyone else was pleased at the agreement that had been arrived at between the two major political parties at the commencement of the Local Government Election campaign.

He said it certainly could not mean that because "you and I have different political views that gives either of us the right to bash in each other's head."

Mr. Howard 'Tony' Wedemire, Member of Parliament for South East Westmoreland resigned in May from the ruling Jamaica Labour Party. He wrote to Sir Florizel about him being appointed to the position as he had wished to be named Leader of Opposition by the Governor General.

Mr. Anthony 'Tony' Abrahams, former Minister of Tourism and Member of Parliament for Eastern Kingston and Port Royal resigned during the weekend of July 4-6 and announced he would be meeting with Mr. Wedemire. He also announced he would be meeting with the Peoples' National Party as he felt that the view of the PNP was important as the (opinion) polls showed it as the largest opposition group in the country.

## GOVERNMENT CUTS INTEREST ON SAVINGS ACCOUNTS BY 1 PERCENT

Kingston THE SUNDAY GLEANER in English 13 Jul 86 p 1

[Text]

**G**OVERNMENT HAS MOVED to further reduce interest rates, cutting the minimum savings deposit rate by 1% to 15%. Information from the Banking sector is that interest rates on loans and mortgages should also fall as a result, continuing the easing of the government's high interest rate/tight money policies.

A Jampress release Friday said that "effective August 1, 1986 the minimum savings deposit rate will be reduced by one percentage point from 16% to 15%. This announcement which was made yesterday by Prime Minister the Rt. Hon. Edward Seaga, forms part of the strategy outlined in his Budget presentation of May 1, 1986 and is expected to result in a further reduction of prime lending rates and mortgage rates.

"During the Budget presentation certain policy initiatives were announced to reduce the minimum savings rate by 4.0 percentage points from 20% to 16%; reduce the liquid assets ratio applied to commercial banks from 44% to 38%; and subsequently reduce the liquid assets ratio applied to non-banks from 25% to 20%.

"All of these measures have now been implemented. As a consequence the average prime rate charged by commercial banks declined to 25.2% compared to a previous average of 29.3%, while time deposit rates offered now average 16.5%, down

from 21.6%," the Jampress release said.

Mortgage rates for new borrowers also fell by 3.0 percentage points. Rates adjustments for existing mortgages will take place in August 1986, the release said.

To implement the reduction in interest rate the Bank of Jamaica (BOJ) has reduced the interest rate on its Certificate of Deposits (C.D's) by 11 percentage points over the past three months. The market determined Treasury Bill rate, on the other hand, has only fallen by 4.5 percentage points over the same period. Commercial Banks lending rates likewise have not reflected the fall in the C.D.'s rate and only responded to the fall in savings rate.

Commenting on the one percentage points reduction in the savings rate a leading banker said that it will result in at least 1 percentage point reduction in loan rates and possibly up to two percentage points in the mortgage rates as a result of the fall in fixed deposit rates caused by the BOJ auction of C.D.'s.

Another leading banker said that government should remove the mandatory fixing of the savings rate and allow market forces to operate. He said "Fix all or leave all to the market. You can't fix some and free others. It only distorts the market. The BOJ C.D.'s rate and the Treasury Bill rate differential over the past three months should have proven the point to government."

The Jampress release said that this further reduction of interest rates is a consequence of the much improved stability of the economy and the improved flow in foreign exchange purchases from the commercial banks which has exceeded the target so far this year by U.S.\$26.4 million, Mr. Seaga said.

"We are continuing to watch the improvements in the economy to determine from time to time what other steps should be taken to increase investment and growth", Jampress quoted the Prime Minister as saying.

## BRIEFS

NEW SENATOR--Mrs Hazel Monteith, J.P., social worker and director of the Citizens Advice Bureau, is to be appointed to the Senate as an Independent Member, succeeding Mrs Barbara Blake-Hanna. Mrs Monteith, who is also presenter of the popular radio programme 'Citizens Advice Bureau', in which she deals with various problems affecting the poor and needy, is also director and honorary secretary of the Hyacinth Lightbourne Visiting Nursing Service and member of the National Consumers' League and the National Council for the Aged. She was born in Savanna-la-mar, Westmoreland, attended Manning's High and the University of the West Indies. She is a Baptist and is married with a son and daughter. Mrs Monteith has said that as an Independent Senator she feels that she will be able to better fulfill her role as social worker and better serve the country. Senator Blake-Hanna, who spoke on the Opposition side of the Senate on social and cultural matters, resigned in March for what she said then were personal reasons. [Text] [Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 3 Jul 86 p 1] /9274

CSO: 3298/513

ORTEGA: 'HEAVY TAXES' FOR PRIVATE SECTOR

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 25 Jun 86 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Cmdr Daniel Ortega, president of the republic, on the "De Cara al Pueblo" (Face the People) program, with the workers of the Valle de Sebaco agroindustrial project, in Matagalpa, 21 June 1986]

[Text] We have been talking for a little over 4 hours now. Some comrades have gotten tired and left, but most are still here. All of you are leaders of the workers, of unions, of cooperatives, of construction units, of health units, in different areas of production and services. There has been a good exchange of ideas at this gathering, and I would like to mention a few points that I consider very important.

For example, the concept of the worker must be made very clear, because at the assembly we held in Managua a few days ago with all the leaders of the rural workers, where we talked about the need to extend the workday, increase efficiency on the job and improve labor discipline, there was also some confusion about this word, worker. Often we ourselves in the media do not do our job of providing real orientation, so that everyone can understand each other better. Worker means all Nicaraguans who are doing some task, whether directly productive or in services. The manager of a company is a worker. If tomorrow a rank-and-file union member manages to climb the ladder and become a business manager, he will not cease to be a worker; he is still a worker who is managing a productive enterprise. There are productive workers, yes; workers in production, workers in services; there are differences. There are highly skilled workers, technicians, professionals, business managers; all the officials of the Revolutionary Government are workers, and we cannot make false distinctions in this regard, with the concept, the word, worker.

Reality Changes Old Concepts and Attitudes

Another important concept is that of /master/ [patron in Spanish]. Are there masters now, in the Revolution? The concept of master arose out of the real situation in which the master did a job, carried out a task, performed an activity: exploiting the worker. The master got rich, the master made money, the master became a millionaire, the master was a capitalist. At whose expense? At the expense of the workers' sweat, the workers' efforts. The



workers received no benefit, had no rights. That concept has disappeared with the Revolution, and this is so because reality has changed.

It is true that our country has a very important private sector; we cannot deny that. In the countryside there are peasants who own their land, work the land with their families, and even on some occasions hire labor to work the land. We also have a few small industries, a few small businesses, which hire labor in the cities. But the revolutionary state as an instrument of the people's power has intervened, literally speaking, has intervened in what would be the accumulation of capital and wealth by the private sector in this country. The state is intervening in the form of taxes, not the way Somoza did, when he really did not levy taxes, but by actually imposing heavy taxes so that much of the wealth they extract from their own labor sector, in the city and the countryside, will be distributed for the benefit of the entire Nicaraguan nation. Thus, projects can be built, agrarian reform can continue its development, land can be turned over to the peasants, health care services can be paid for, housing programs can be funded, and education programs can be underwritten.

The revolutionary change has also brought about a change in attitude, a change in mentality among thousands of small and medium rural producers. They used to behave like masters, and they no longer do. In addition, small industrialists in the cities who used to behave like masters no longer do so in their relations with workers, because now the worker has rights.

To be sure, given the reality of the Nicaraguan Revolution, in our society there are some who refuse to accept revolutionary change. There are those who insist on continuing to act like masters, who feel they have a divine right to exploit the workers, to mistreat the workers, to deny the workers' right to organize. There are still such people in our country, and we can cite the famous Julio Martinez group. They felt they had the right to continue to act like masters, to ignore the mandates and laws of the Revolution and refuse to give the revolutionary unions the right to organize, to repress and persecute the workers who wanted to organize the Sandinist union.

There are isolated cases of businesses like the one I have mentioned, and they have been subject to intervention as a result of a decision by the Labor Ministry. There are also individual cases in the rural sector of medium or large landowners who refuse to change their mentality and continue to live in the past, to dream of the past. They either act like masters or wish they could.

So this concept of master as the predominant concept of society has disappeared with the revolutionary triumph, although there are still some isolated cases that must be combatted and attacked until they are eradicated.

**Vigilance, Guidance, Accomplishment, Criticism: Everyone's Obligation**

We must also combat paternalistic tendencies in these same institutions and companies.

The managers of productive enterprises in the private sector must respect the established laws that are being enforced by the Labor Ministry. The Labor Code must be respected; all laws, ordinances, and regulations issued by the Labor Ministry must be obeyed. Anyone who tries to violate them will be following the paternalistic pattern. And that must certainly be combatted and pointed out.

I have stressed this a great deal, because we run the risk of misguidance, when criticism is undertaken but is not well oriented, when it is not constructive and concepts are confused. I say this not because of you, but primarily because of the comrades who are directly in charge of the mass media in this country; because the mass media are supposed to guide, to educate, and must also be concerned with learning and mastering the issues and problems that they must deal with.

A revolution is going on here, and this revolution has a vanguard of workers, both blue-collar and white-collar, and peasants, who make up the Sandinist National Liberation Front. This organization is the principal guide and fundamental teacher of the workers. The Sandinist Front is also the principal overseer of its own actions through its different agencies; it monitors its own actions. What does it mean to monitor the actions of the Sandinist Front? To make sure that the tasks the Sandinist Front must carry out through the production and service workers are actually completed. When the union conducts an evaluation, holds a meeting or an assembly and analyzes how well the union is doing its job, how well it is working, how good discipline is in the union.

Thus, it is the Sandinist Front evaluating its own tasks. Supposedly, the job of the union is to guarantee discipline, to guarantee the organization of the working class, to guarantee productivity in the working class. The union is the first guarantor of these processes, and then when the union evaluates itself, it may criticize the management; after the union sees its own flaws it may criticize the management, which is part of the sum total of all workers and is also the representation of the Sandinist Front in the enterprise's administrative management.

The worker who is organized in the union represents the Sandinist Front's desire to produce; the manager who is at the head of the company represents the Sandinist Front's desire to produce also.

The minister who is at the head of a government institution is also a representative of the Sandinist Front, carrying out a task that has been assigned him, and the workers under his leadership must also carry out their own responsibilities. It is this common effort that guarantees fulfillment of the tasks of the Revolution. The union and the management are not divorced from each other; the production worker out on the line should not be divorced from the management worker or the worker who is an official of the revolutionary state.

There should be no competition, no jealousy; all should engage in a common effort. The administrative worker is as necessary and as fundamental as the

basic production worker, because the company will always need management. The manager is a necessary complement, as are technicians.

All workers must make this common effort: The workers who are involved in the construction of a project also need another worker, the engineer, but they must complement each other and engage in criticism. The fact that all of us are necessary does not mean that we should temporize about our own errors and flaws.

#### Soldiers, Workers in Defense Tasks

The soldiers in our army, the combatants in our army, are also workers. They carry out very specific tasks. In fact, the top priority workers at this time are those who are involved in the military defense of the Revolution, and after them come the production workers. To be sure, the workers engaged in the military defense of the Revolution are also working for the productivity of the nation; they are the first ones to hold the line against imperialist aggression so that production can take place in this country. Otherwise, the enemy could come right in and disrupt production.

#### Seek Errors and Learn From Them

Thus, if we are all workers and we are aware that a war, an aggression, is going on, this obliges us to appreciate the few resources we have. We must maintain constant vigilance, but with a self-critical attitude. That is, in the first place, I am going to look for my own errors, to see where I have made mistakes, where the union has made mistakes. The union itself must ask, Where have we made mistakes, comrades? Where are we going wrong, comrades? And managers themselves must also ask, Where are we making mistakes, comrades? Where are we going wrong, comrades? No one should be so blind as to think that we cannot make errors; we can make errors, we can go wrong, and under such difficult and complex circumstances as we face now, errors and mistakes have a much higher cost for the country's economy. The damage caused by mistakes is much greater when resources are so scarce.

So, if we are capable of being self-critical in the first place, then we win the right, the moral authority, to begin criticizing and evaluating the other sector, the comrades in the other sector. If we are not self-critical and do not begin to seek our errors and the flaws in our own actions, then we will have no moral authority to point out the errors on the other side.

Criticism has been progressing and developing in our country, as a right won by the people and an obligation we all share. The fact that it is not yet functioning optimally is a source of concern to us. I say this to you, and we said it to the comrades at the previous meeting in Managua: We are concerned about the fact that we met with the comrades who lead the unions, we met with the comrades who lead the businesses, we met with the comrades who are technicians, and in sum we did not find any self-critical analysis anywhere. No one is saying, Well, comrade, we have been making this, that and the other mistake in our sector, but we also see that the management is making this, that and the other mistake. Nor is the management saying, We have been wrong

in this, this and this, but we find that other sectors are wrong in this, this and this. We are not making much progress in this area yet.

#### Develop Sense and Style of Criticism

I was saying that we must all develop criticism in a constructive way here. When we talk of the masses, we are talking about a concept that means the organized working people, people who are aware and who must carry out criticism, the working people led by the Sandinist Front.

The mass media must not be the ones to carry out this task of overseeing "independently," for example, replacing the masses. The mass media must in all cases be transmitters, transmitters of the critical concerns of the people. They must also serve as a guide for all the people's critical concerns, an instrument of the Sandinist Front in the great task of organizing the people's consciousness, the people's efforts. To do otherwise would be to ignore the fact that we have a vanguard force here, a revolutionary party, a workers' party that is the Sandinist National Liberation Front, the principal overseer of its own actions.

#### Aggression Takes Precedence Over Any Other Problem

Moreover, as Comrade Emilio already explained, the problems of energy, really, the problems of energy, like many other problems in this country, have to do with the aggression. They are very directly tied to the state of war in this country. Why? If we did not have a war, if we did not have the aggression, we would have more resources available to meet demands for energy, to meet demands for housing, to meet demands for health, to meet demands for transportation, to meet demands for food; we would have many more resources.

By engaging in all these efforts which are necessary so that we will not make mistakes and errors, so that we can improve our work and work with efficiency; by making all these efforts we will avoid some sacrifice, to be sure, we will save a little, but we will not solve our problems. There is no magic solution to the problems that plague Nicaragua now, because the main problem Nicaragua faces is the problem of aggression by the United States, which wants to destroy this Revolution. That is the main problem we face. We are not facing the problems of development, we are not a country that is beyond war and is enjoying peace, we are not in a state of normalcy, we are not a country that can calmly discuss its development problems. We are a country that is facing the problem of whether or not the Revolution can survive, whether or not Reagan will be able to kill the Revolution. That is the principal problem facing the country.

So our behavior in response to these problems should be primarily political. We should be fully aware that all these problems cannot be totally resolved. Some minor problems can, but some major problems cannot be totally resolved.

Comrade Emilio spoke with great optimism of the secure energy sources that could be guaranteed within a certain period of time. Of course, he is looking at the technical-material problem, but if we look at the situation from the standpoint of the confrontation with the United States, with the imperialists,



the fact is that the development of energy is not certain here. At any moment they could dynamite, blow up, or bomb a power plant. They have already tried it, they have already tried to bomb the geothermal plant, they have already tried to blow up the Carlos Fonseca plant, the Centroamerica plant. So we cannot lose sight of our own programs, in the economic sphere. We cannot lose sight of the war factor, which poses a constant threat to us. And in view of the war, what alternative do we have? The Nicaraguan people, the Nicaraguan workers, have an instrument for the military defense of the Revolution, a guiding instrument that is the Sandinist People's Army. And the people are organizing, militarily mobilizing around this backbone which is our army, to deal with the war of aggression and even to face an eventual U.S. military intervention.

#### Revolutionary Government, People's Administrative Instrument

The working people have their unions, their trade associations so that they can organize and carry out the struggle to defend the Revolution in a spirit of self-criticism. In other words, they can carry out the plans of each labor sector, each labor branch.

The workers, the Nicaraguan people, factory workers and peasants alike, have their administrative instrument, their government, their administrative apparatus; and this apparatus is there to fulfill a number of functions and tasks. But there is no reason to believe that if Cmdr Dora Maria Tellez were removed as minister of health and a union worker were given that responsibility all problems would be solved. No, the problems will not be solved, because that comrade would face tremendous demands, and there would be no way to respond to those demands and deal with the demands that Cmdr Dora Maria Tellez must contend with today.

The enemy will also say that the Revolution is inefficient, inept, no good; he will say many things to undermine the revolutionary effort, as he has already done. The enemy will say that the state apparatus is full of bureaucrats, that it is cumbersome, that it is anti-worker, in order to foment mistrust and discontent among the working people. The enemy will also instill mistrust between the union and the management, between the union and the technician, between the management and the ministries of the Revolutionary Government, and between the unions and the ministries of the Revolutionary Government. The enemy is interested in provoking these conflicts, feeding these conflicts, making these conflicts turn into crises, in order to wear down the Revolution, because there are many problems and they cannot be solved.

Not very many problems can be solved if there is no awareness, no constructive revolutionary criticism, no sense of unity among unions, management, technicians and officials of the Revolutionary Government. If there is no sense of unity, then the enemy will take advantage of the situation to come in and undermine confidence in the Revolution, foment chaos, and promote mistrust in the Revolution.



## Revolution, True Alternative, Already Passed First Test

I would like to make these points because we are going through difficult times. It is true that the Revolution is a proposal, an idea, a true alternative so that the people will have better living conditions, better overall conditions: moral, spiritual, and material. That is what the Revolution proposes and that is the goal it has set for itself.

The first big test that the Nicaraguan Revolution passed, to be considered a Revolution, was the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship. That was the first big test that the Nicaraguan Revolution, the Nicaraguan people, passed. It was a veritable trial by fire, a test of sacrifice.

It took so many years to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship, so many years, so many deaths during those years, so much sacrifice, and so much suffering during those years. And the workers had no unions back then; and the workers were repressed back then; and the workers were exploited back then; and the workers had the master on their backs back then.

Yes, the master was on the worker's back, exploiting him and repressing him. And then we brought about the revolutionary triumph, and a great many projects began to emerge at that time as a result of the enthusiasm and the desire to move ahead quickly to improve the situation of the Nicaraguan people. These projects were not exactly well planned then. At that time, in 1979 and 1980, there was no way to foresee, we could not yet predict that we were going to have to face a war of aggression, a terrorist war and the threat of U.S. intervention as happened immediately afterwards.

## New Trial by Fire Finds People Armed

The Revolution is now being put to the test in a tremendous trial by fire, and the U.S. Government is using all its resources to strangle and destroy the Revolution, to bring the Revolution to its knees, to confuse the workers, to provoke conflicts, to wear down the resources of the Revolution. The United States is working intensely, making use of the experience it gained in Chile.

The Yankees have some experience in Chile, because in Chile they managed to destabilize the government of Salvador Allende. They used the press to destabilize the government of Salvador Allende, they used the capitalists, and they used the right-wing parties, and finally they used that oppressive army to assassinate Salvador Allende and to murder thousands of workers, and to destroy the working people of Chile. Of course, there was a tremendous difference, and there still is, between the Chilean people under Salvador Allende and the Nicaraguan people. Unfortunately, the Chilean people were not armed; in contrast, the Nicaraguan people are armed, and that is why Reagan wants us to disarm. Reagan's entire policy has been aimed at achieving the disarmament of the Nicaraguan people. Ah, because of the experience in Chile, he knows that an unarmed people is defenseless, and can be swept up, annihilated, and destroyed.

So we are facing the anger, the fury, the arrogance of the U.S. Government, which wants to destroy this Revolution and cause discontent among the workers

by increasing scarcity. It wants to cause shortages of clothing, of shoes, of food; it wants the workers themselves to fight over food; it wants the worker to say, "Well, he has one more bean than I have, and he has one more grain of rice than I have." It wants us to start devouring ourselves, and that will facilitate the destruction of the Revolution. That is what the imperialists want when they attack us militarily, when they destroy our economy, when they impose an economic blockade on us. We are going through another trial by fire. How long will this trial by fire last? We don't know. It is not up to us, it is up to the United States, which has vast resources and can keep this war going indefinitely, and can even invade Nicaragua.

So we must be fully aware, first of all, that if we want a better future, a future of abundance, a future without major problems, then we must go through these difficult times and make major sacrifices. And we will get through these times, of course we will! And we are certain that we will spend this time improving our own actions; in other words, we will become more responsible, each person at his own job. We will be self-critical and critical, recognizing positive efforts and pointing out errors so that they can be corrected, and punishing those responsible, whether they be up above or down below. At any workplace where a culprit is found, he must be punished. In this spirit and with this resolve, in the interest of strengthening the unity of the Revolution, we must continue working, we must continue struggling, we must continue paying homage as well to Carlos Fonseca on his 50th anniversary.

Free Fatherland!

8926

CSO: 3248/551

# PASTORAL LETTER ON CONSTITUTION CRITICIZED

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 14 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Onofre Guevara L.]

[Text] The far-reaching significance and strength of public opinion, as expressed in the many town meetings on the constitution, has finally broken the prolonged silence of the Episcopal Conference. Availing themselves of the opportunity to voice criticism, as the people have done and which is the purpose of the town meetings, the bishops recently issued a pastoral letter that in many respects smacks of a medieval, anachronistic mentality.

On the whole, the pastoral letter is an affected manipulation of religious symbols, such as "Christian identity," as the bishops attempt to use their political views to influence the citizenry with respect to the draft constitution that is currently under discussion among all segments of society. A central element in their opposition to various aspects of the draft is their desire to leave the imprint of religion on the concept of the homeland.

The calculated confusion between "Christian identity" and identity of homeland is one of the cornerstones of the pastoral letter and, at the same time, the crux of its contradictions.

1) The "Christian identity" has not been present as a guiding factor in the historical struggles for the sovereignty of the homeland. On the contrary, all too often high-level representatives of the Catholic Church have stood alongside the social and political forces that have been opposed to national sovereignty (Father Vigil serving as Walker's foreign minister; Bishop Canuto Reyes blessing the weapons of the Yankee invaders; Monsignor Gonzalez y Robleto serving Somoza Garcia, the dictatorial representative of foreign intervention; and Cardinal Obando y Bravo, along with Bishop Pablo Vega, currently immersed in the U.S. campaigns to help their mercenaries).

2) The Christian presence in the liberation struggles, against foreign intervention and against the pro-American Somoza dictatorships and, now, in the consolidation of the revolution, as well as in the defense against U.S. aggression, has made itself felt through the Christian people against the will of and in spite of the repression of Church hierarchs. (The measures against Father Ernesto Cardenal, Father Miguel D'Escoto and Father Fernando Cardenal,

the expulsion of Catholic priests from their parishes all over the country, and the pressures exerted on rank-and-file Christians for their support of efforts to salvage freedom for our homeland, are irrefutable proof that the "Christian identity" that the bishops liken to the identity of homeland is sheer manipulation, distortion and untruth.)

3) We can gather from this that the appeal for parity between the "Christian identity" and the identity of homeland is an appeal for influence for the Catholic hierarchy on the State's political decisions. There is no contradiction here. The bishops did not ask the bourgeois State, which owned land and with which they had a social and ideological affinity, for parity, as they settled for the role of a secondary ally. But they are now asking for it from a revolution that they oppose and that they are helping to carry out plans to destroy.

4) The hierarchy would like to conceal its aggressive political involvement in State affairs under the cloak of the "Christian identity." But such aggressive involvement is contrary to a patriotic identity. If, as the pastoral letter claims, the "Christian identity" and the "identity of the homeland" are "like the soul and the historical expression of our freedom and of our struggles to achieve sovereignty," then why do the Church's main hierarchs attack the homeland's freedom and sovereignty by joining the U.S. campaigns against Nicaragua?

5) Protected by their "Christian identity," the authors of the pastoral letter advocate "the attainment of the common good of all, without exception." For the past 4 years, however, they have been making exceptions of the thousands of Nicaraguans who have been slain by the mercenary forces of the United States. What is more, over these 4 years they have not concealed their sympathy for and identification with these forces.

The pastoral letter's invitation to us to reflect on the general and specific aspects of the draft constitution is acceptable. It is impossible, however, for the people to draw the same conclusion as the bishops about issues such as the family, schooling and others, because the philosophy and praxis of the bishops are atrophied and full of contradictions.

For example, they describe the second paragraph of Article 100 as a "danger or temptation." It reads: "The family can be established through matrimony or a de facto union." True, the wording is not complete (as indicated at the town meetings), but this is not what worries the bishops. They are worried about the recognition of "the common good" of thousands of families that have been established "de facto," mainly in the countryside. Such stable family units are a social reality that cannot be ignored, much less condemned as "illegal" or not "Christian." What this demonstrates is that the bishops have a bourgeois concept of the family. Their ideal is a bourgeois family, even if such families are in the minority. They are thus relegating other types of families, which are real but do not meet bourgeois standards, to the ostracism of illegality.

In general, as we said, the contributions of the pastoral letter, aside from its novel invention of "Christian identity," are no better or worse than those

of the conservative sectors that are voicing their views outside the town meetings.

But we congratulate them for having awakened to the reality of the discussions on the constitution.

8743

CS0: 3248/550



## BARRICADA RECEIVES CUBAN JOURNALISM AWARDS

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 17 Jun 86 p 8

[Text] In late March of this year BARRICADA sent four of its best articles in 1985 and 1986 to the Jose Marti Latin American Journalism Competition, which the international agency PRENSA LATINA had organized on the 27th anniversary of its founding.

Yesterday at noon our offices joyfully received the news that Comrade Guillermo Cortes Dominguez had received the Jose Marti Prize, along with two distinguished Argentine reporters, "for his article on the enemies of the Sandinist Revolution, which he researched at risk to himself in counterrevolutionary circles inside the United States."

Special mention was also given to Sofia Montenegro. And the jury, which consisted of 13 prominent figures from the continental and Caribbean press, decided unanimously to award a single prize to BARRICADA for the quality of the political, historical, social and investigative reporting of its newsmen, including Comrades Arqueles Morales and Marcio Vargas.

"The articles that we received clearly show that the newspaper as a whole is of truly exceptional quality in the region, given the prevailing conditions there," reads a section of the resolutions issued by the competition jury.

### The Fruit of Hard Work

The four articles that BARRICADA submitted were the fruit of hard work by their authors. Therefore, it is very significant that they outshone the other 150 articles submitted by journalists from nine countries.

Guillermo Cortes Dominguez did the dangerous research for his article right in the lair of the Somozists in Miami. He spent more than a month in the very bowels of imperialism, investigating the lives and activities of the revolution's enemies.

After several more weeks of carefully analyzing and piecing together the material he gathered in the field, he produced a series of articles that had both domestic and international impact, as even newspapers in the United States quoted them.

One of the leading columnists in the MIAMI HERALD, for example, made much of Cortes' articles.

#### Articles on the Atlantic Coast

To Sofia Montenegro, writing "Memories of the Atlantic" was more than an investigative and political challenge; it challenged her ability to learn about, understand and interpret the history of a section of the country that everyone, but mainly she herself, had and known little of and long ignored.

Sofia says that the problem involved more than just gathering widely scattered information from documents, trips to the coast and interviews; she also had to find a coherent, informative and gripping manner of telling a complex, many-sided story in as little space as she could.

"I spent days and nights on end reading about economics, history, philosophy and even anthropology," she says. "I spent my days taking notes, so much so that my colleagues affectionately began calling me 'Miss Index Card' because I filled up a whole box of them."

She says that her main fear was that the report would be incomprehensible, that she would write an interpretation of history that would not do justice to the past and that instead of clarifying the issue would foster confusion about the ethnic problem. "One of my greatest satisfactions, which dispelled my understandable fears, was when I realized that groups of students were coming over to buy the series, even many months after it had been published. Our file copies are almost gone."

#### Marcio and Arqueles

Marcio Vargas' series of exhaustively researched, hard-hitting articles on the national war and Arqueles Morales' report on the grassroots uprising in Managua also made their presence felt at the Latin American competition. The months that Arqueles spent investigating the issue and interviewing people have led to more than a newspaper article, as he will soon publish a book entitled "With a Finger on the Trigger."

#### The Other Winners

First prize in PRENSA LATINA's Latin American journalism contest was also shared by Argentine reporters Arturo Lozza and Ignacio Gonzalez Jansen. Jansen served as the chief of BARRICADA's international page during the early months of the Sandinist People's Revolution.

#### The Jury

The jury was chaired by the distinguished Argentine journalist Rogelio Garcia Lupo and comprised 13 prominent figures from the continental press.

The Jose Marti Prize that was awarded to BARRICADA and its reporters represents a genuine recognition of Nicaraguan revolutionary journalism.

# AGRICULTURE MINISTER ANNOUNCES AID TO PEASANT COMMUNITIES

Lima EL NACIONAL in Spanish 2 Jul 86 p 8

[Text] Cusco, 30 Jun--Agriculture Minister Remigio Morales Bermudez awarded 748 peasant communities soft loans for capital investment projects costing between 50 and 70 million soles after the Third Rimanacuy Meeting, which was attended by the presidents of those institutions in Cusco and Apurimac.

In his closing speech, Remigio Morales Bermudez announced on behalf of the president of the republic that the soon to be passed peasant communities law would create departmental community parliaments.

Amplifying on the announcement, Morales Bermudez said that the parliaments would bring together the presidents of the peasant communities in each department, who will discuss the concerns and interests of each village or region.

The parliaments, the minister said, will have their own budgets and will manage their funds and make decisions autonomously.

The agriculture minister was accompanied by the head of the National Planning Institute and by Energy and Mines Minister Wilfredo Huaita, who because so many communities were awarded loans, actually helped to hand out the payment orders to the local peasants. The loans from the Agrarian Bank are payable in 15 years, carry a 3 percent annual interest rate and have a 5-year grace period.

In his final remarks he recalled that in just 11 months this administration has appropriated the unprecedented amount of more than 40 billion soles from the so-called "fund for direct support to peasant communities," which it also created.

He also said that under the law that will take effect in October of next year, all peasant communities in Peru would be duly recognized and have their title documents in order and their borders clearly defined. Morales Bermudez also delivered this morning 37 resolutions of recognition of peasant communities in Cusco and 13 in Apurimac, with 60,000 and 44,000 hectares respectively.

8743

CSO: 3348/689

## DIVISIONS IN UNITED LEFT ELECTION FRONT REPORTED

### Initial Details

Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 8 Jul 86 p A-1

[Text] Three of the six political parties that make up the United Left (IU) have submitted a document to the National Election Jury in which they set forth their decision to run in the upcoming municipal elections under that name, once again with Alfonso Barrantes as president and legal representative. With their move, United Left has practically been split in two.

The decision was made by the secretaries general of the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP), the Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR) and the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), Jorge del Prado Chavez, Manuel Dammert Ego Aguirre and Alfredo Filomeno Jarrin respectively.

The parties that have been left out are the Mariateguista Unified Party (PUM), Unity of the Revolutionary Left (UNIR) and the Student-Worker-Peasant Popular Front (FOCEP), which are headed by Senators Javier Diez Canseco, Rolando Brena Pantoja and Genaro Ledesma Izquieta respectively.

The three senators felt that the unilateral decision was a serious act "that seeks to divide IU and plays into the political hands of APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance]."

### Party Statements

Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 8 Jul 86 p A-4

[Text] The leaders of the three parties (PUM, UNIR and FOCEP) that have been left out of the new United Left Electoral Front that will run in the forthcoming municipal elections have called the formation of the front a unilateral decision aimed at dividing the political alliance.

The following are their statements:

UNIR: Brena Pantoja

Senator Rolando Brena Pantoja, the secretary general of UNIR, said that the move shows a desire to split the alliance. "It was an abnormal, unilateral move made completely outside the National Steering Committee and it could become a very serious point of controversy that may lead to a split in IU."

He said that the PUM, UNIR and FOCEP are founding members of IU and do not require anyone's permission to remain in the front.

He felt that the three other parties ought to withdraw their registration with the National Electoral Jury and proposed that the National Steering Committee call a national meeting to discuss the problem.

FOCEP: Ledesma

Senator Genaro Ledesma, the president of FOCEP, contended that the three leaders who submitted the registration request are trying to sideline three other political groups that account for three-fourths of IU representation in Congress.

"We are astonished that experienced leaders are signing obviously divisive petitions and requests behind the back of the National Steering Committee, behind the back of the IU rank and file and, I think, without the knowledge and consent of IU's president, Alfonso Barrantes.

"We are speaking out against this move before the country, before the IU and before the people, inasmuch as the Peruvian people are not going to allow three individuals to divide IU," he indicated.

He said that they would ask the National Steering Committee to halt the "escapade on which three IU leaders have embarked."

PUM: Diez Canseco

Senator Javier Diez Canseco, the secretary general of the PUM, described the decision as a serious move aimed at weakening what he felt was the main opposition force.

He said that it is consistent with APRA's intention to divide the Left into "responsible and irresponsible people."

He argued that the move undeniably benefited the ruling party.

In the face of this development he called for a spirit of "unity and responsibility in meeting the challenge facing Peru today."

He said that they would demand that the petition be withdrawn and would call on the rank and file to stage a national event.

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CSO: 3348/689



## BRIEFS

KOREAN IDEOLOGY IN APRA--APRA [American Revolutionary Popular Alliance] deputies Carlos Rivas Davila and Norman Arellano Lozada have traveled to North Korea. There is nothing special about this piece of news. People have a right to travel. What is noteworthy is that Radio Pyongyang, the mouthpiece of the government in the North Korean capital, hailed the APRA deputies as representatives of the "chuche idea" in the Peruvian Congress. The "chuche idea" is the essence of the ideology of the great leader Kim Il-song, a product of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. Since when has chuche idea been flowering in APRA? [Text] [Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 9 Jul 86 p A-4] 8743

NEW AMBASSADOR TO OAS--Former Minister Luis Gonzales Posada will reportedly be named Peru's ambassador to the OAS. The current ambassador, Mr Raygada Cauvi, will reportedly take over as ambassador to the Caracas government. [Text] [Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 8 Jul 86 p A-4] 8743

JUDICIAL DECENTRALIZATION--How far along are the projects that Minister Gonzales Posada started up to streamline the administration of justice? Construction of the Judicial Centers in the northern and southern cones seems certain. It has been learned that the land and the blueprints for the Northern Cone Judicial Center are ready. It will be located in the Rimac district in a spot that is easily accessible from all other northern cone districts. The justice center of the southern cone will be in the San Juan de Miraflores district in another accessible location almost equidistant from Villa El Salvador and other districts in the zone. As we know, the centers will house offices of justices of the peace, courts of first instance, trial courts and other offices in one location to expedite the administration of justice. [Text] [Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 8 Jul 86 p A-4] 8743

CSO: 3348/689

PAPER RAPS U.S. REPORT ON NATION'S UN VOTING RECORD

Port-of-Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English 17 Jul 86 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

AMONG the no doubt thousands of reports on various subjects which the United States State Department regularly produces, there was one report recently which directly concerned Trinidad and Tobago—although its contents are not so much as disturbing as the conclusions that might be drawn from it.

This report involved a look at how Trinidad and Tobago voted during the 40th session of the United Nations General Assembly, vis-a-vis a number of issues regarded as important to the Reagan administration's international political interests.

Given that bias, the report goes on to point out that Trinidad and Tobago voted only 17.8 per cent of the time with the U.S. during the 40th General Assembly session.

Indeed, on 10 international issues regarded as important to the U.S. administration, this country voted only four times with the U.S.—for example, we voted against the U.S.

trade embargo against Nicaragua (the Reagan administration's policy on Nicaragua having been ruled a breach of international law by the World Court only recently).

Now it is obvious that the Reagan administration has ordered such reports to be made so that it can draw conclusions about who its friends are, or aren't, in the United Nations. Some critics have already pointed to some basic flaws in the methodology of drawing up such a report (abstentions, for example, on issues regarded as important to Washington are recorded as "no" votes).

Another criticism of the report has been that Washington ought to spend more time checking on whether U.N. members were adhering to the U.N. Charter than whether they were in agreement with Washington's policies. From the U.S. government's point of view, the report may be very meaningful; but from our point of view, such a report is simply too centred on U.S.

interests, ignoring, as it were, the interests of countries as small as Trinidad and Tobago.

It would be a grave distortion, for example, to conclude from such a report that this country has any animosity, ideological or otherwise, towards the United States, our largest trading partner.

Moreover, there are voting blocs at the United Nations to which this country, like any other, might belong. Blocs vote as a bloc, and there must have been times when we may not have agreed entirely with the particular resolution but simply went along en bloc.

As Singapore's ambassador to the U.N., Kishore Mahbubani, summed it up recently: "Just because a country doesn't follow the same voting pattern as the U.S. doesn't mean it is voting against the U.S."

Take another instance in which we were perceived as voting against the U.S.—along with most European countries, we voted in favour of the 1986-1987 U.N. Budget, which the U.S. opposed, allied with the Soviet Union, Israel and several Eastern European nations. Does the Soviet Union voting with the U.S. mean that the USSR is now a U.S. ally?

The State Department, we believe, would be misleading itself, and doing an injustice to the fraternal relations between this country and the United States, were it to draw simplistic conclusions from such a simplistic way of looking at the world.

ST LUCIA'S MALLET DISCUSSES REVIVED TRADE IN TALKS

Port-of-Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English 16 Jul 86 p 2

[Text]

**AN ATTEMPT is being made to revitalise trade between Trinidad and Tobago and St Lucia.**

So said St Lucia's deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Industry and Commerce, George Mallet. Mallet held talks with Wendell Mottley, Minister of Industry, Commerce and Consumer Affairs at Riverside Plaza yesterday.

In an interview with the EXPRESS, Mallet, who came in on Monday night and left yesterday evening, said the purpose of his visit was to "see what could be done" to revitalise trading between St Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago. This revitalisation, he said, would go "in the direction of exports out of St Lucia into Trinidad rather than the other ways."

Mallet explained that

while St Lucia had been increasing imports from Trinidad and Tobago, "it has not been happening the other way."

He said there was a 77 percent drop in "business" coming out of St Lucia and this affected the operations of factories and the level of unemployment in that country.

"And it is an area to be very concerned about," he added.

Mallet said St Lucia's government was hoping to come to an arrangement with Trinidad and Tobago "to get over that hump." He said that his discussions with Mottley had been quite favourable.

"We have managed to come to agreements on certain issues. And I am confident by the end of the day we would have come to certain positions which would be benefi-

cial to both sides," he said.

He said that Trinidad and Tobago however was helpful and cooperative in giving an assurance for certain quantities and were prepared to discuss the extent to which the quantities being taken could be expanded.

"We were not as well treated by some of the MDCs," he added, "and we thought that on this occasion we would take the opportunity also to look at the possibilities for increasing trade in oil."

FOREIGN-AID GROUPS OFFER FUNDING FOR TRINGEN II

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 24 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Jerry Johnson]

[Text]

SEVERAL International lending agencies have agreed to provide up to US \$240 million (TT \$900 million) in long-term funding, without financial guarantees, to construct Tringen II.

This was revealed by State Enterprises Minister Ronald Williams yesterday at the signing of the Tringen II loan agreements at the Eric Williams Plaza.

Tringen II is the second ammonia plant to be owned by the joint venture company in which the Government owns 51 per cent and W.R. Grace 49 per cent. Construction of the plant which will cost about US \$250 million is on schedule and is expected to produce 500,000 short tons of ammonia for export in early 1988 when it is in full production.

### PM Signs

Signing on behalf of W.R. Grace was its President, Jake Jaquier, and for the Republic, Prime Minister George Chambers.

Mr Williams said financing for the plant will come entirely from the net cash operations of Tringen I and from long-term loans.

"No additional equity is being put up by the shareholders," Mr Williams disclosed. "The loan financing will come from OPEC, a financing agency wholly owned by the Government of the United States, the International Finance Corporation, an affiliate of

the World Bank Group, and large international commercial banks based in the US, Europe and Japan."

Together they have committed themselves to providing up to US \$240 in long-term funding without requiring any financial guarantees from the Government or W.R. Grace.

### Confidence

"This is the measure of the degree of confidence which these financiers have in the high quality of economic management which the Government has shown over the past years and in the stability which wise leadership has brought into the social life of the nation and in the even-handedness of the Government's approach in transacting business with the local and foreign private sector," Mr Williams said.

The financiers, who were represented at the signing ceremony yesterday, came to Trinidad also to talk to Government officials and members of the private sector about other areas of investment, Mr Williams said.

"Many of these investment opportunities lie in the area of monetising the enormous natural gas reserves which this country is fortunate to own," Mr Williams said.

"The IFC representatives are holding further discussions which could lead to investment in ammonia and methanol in the Point Fortin area."

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CSO: 3298/514



# CRITICISM, DEFENSE OF CHAMBERS' ALLEGED RACIST REMARK

## NAR Accusation

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 15 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Gail Alexander]

[Text]

NATIONAL Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) leaders have branded statements made by Prime Minister George Chambers at Sunday's PNM Youth League conference as racist.

NAR Political Leader A.N.R. Robinson, who said so yesterday, has also dismissed the Prime Minister's claim of no evidence of political corruption in Government since 1981, as "turning a blind eye and a deaf ear" to the situation.

At Sunday's PNM Youth League conference, Prime Minister Chambers had spoken of a grand design to wrest political power from a certain section of the community.

And yesterday Mr Robinson condemned the statement as "blatantly racist," following, he said, in the pattern the ruling party used in the Tobago House of Assembly elections recently.

"Such a racist statement could only be laying the groundwork for another campaign of dirty tricks that they intend to employ. As for claims that there has been no political corruption in government since 1981, he is obviously blinding himself to the wrongs he promised to put right, and turning a deaf ear and blind eye to the current situation as well," Mr Robinson said.

## What About Squatters?

Responding to another statement by Mr Chambers, the NAR leader

said that if Government were serious about having politicians declare their assets, an independent Integrity Commission should be established to handle this.

The Prime Minister's remarks also drew fire from NAR Party Organizer John Humphrey who said that Mr Chambers was trying to appeal to the Afro-Trinidadian in his audience. He added:

"But if he is representative of an Afro-Trinidadian government, can he also speak for all the poor Afro-Trinidadian squatters trying to eke out a living today?"

Mr Humphrey said that the Prime Minister had no basis for claiming lack of evidence of political corruption in his administration.

He added that Mr Chambers had been Minister of Finance in the previous government when John O'Halloran had been a high profile figure, and later on was Prime Minister when the scandal surrounding O'Halloran broke. Mr Humphrey told the "Guardian".

## Deep Corruption

"Mr Chambers was in charge then, and nothing was done to stop O'Halloran taking money out of the country. The \$500m (Can) he took is more money than the PNM has spent on housing in this country in 12 years.

"And what about DEWD? A Parliamentary Secretary has already admitted that there is deep corruption in this operation."

The Member of Parliament for St Augustine said that Mr Chambers's audience of PNM youths on Sunday should ask themselves whether there is a hopeful future — "of a job, a house, a decent life" — under a PNM government:

## Protest to Christian Council

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 17 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Gail Alexander]

[Text]

THE CHRISTIAN Council of Trinidad and Tobago was meeting last night to discuss a letter from the National Alliance for Reconstruction protesting recent statements by Prime Minister George Chambers.

The NAR letter was sent to CCTT on Tuesday registering the party's protest against statements made by Prime Minister George Chambers at the PNM Youth League conference last Sunday.

Bishop Clive Abdulah a member of the CCTT, said yesterday that CCTT members had received the NAR's letter and intended to study it carefully at the meeting, follow-

ing which the Council would give its response on the issue.

### Sounds Salvo

The NAR protested Mr Chambers's statements concerning a grand design to wrest political power from a certain section of the community and his parting shot on the subject of politics — "I shoot from behind."

The party contends that they breached sections 2,3,5 and 6 of the CCTT's proposed Code of Conduct for general elections.

These conditions advise political parties involved to:

- (2) avoid racist, sexist language, intolerance of others;
- (3) avoid half truths, misrepresentations confusing issues and misleading the electorate;
- (5) avoid the temptation to use victimisation or intimidation to gain

votes;

(6) avoid all forms of violence and defuse any situation leading to this.

NAR Vice Chairman Clive Pantin who signed the letter said that the Prime Minister's utterances indicated that he had sounded his party's salvo for the upcoming elections, and even suggested that "the PNM intends to fight the elections on grounds of race and violence."

The Prime Minister's Sunday address also drew strong criticism from the National Joint Action Committee, one of the parties that attended the CCTT meeting.

NJAC labelled Mr Chambers's claim of no political corruption during 1981/86 as contemptuous and an insult to the intelligence of the public, and added:

"In fact it would be laughable — were it not such a serious insult and absurdity."

## Church Letter to Chambers

Port-of-Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English 17 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Ria Taitt]

[Text]

THE CHRISTIAN Council of Trinidad and Tobago (CCTT) has written to Prime Minister George Chambers asking him to explain his recent statements at a special youth conference of the People's National Movement at Pleasantville Senior Comprehensive School last Sunday.

CCTT Chairman Reverend Dr Kingsley Lewis told the *Express* yesterday the statements "contradicted the PNM's agreement to the code of ethics." "At least," he added, "it certainly appeared that way to us."

Rev Lewis declined to reveal the contents of the letter, saying it had been delivered to the Prime Minister's office yesterday morning. "He will only receive it tomorrow (today)," he said.

Rev Lewis was referring specifically to two statements made on Sunday. The first was that alliances and coalitions were part of a grand design to wrest political power from certain sections of the community.

The other was Chambers' concluding remark that he would not wait for the white of his political opponents' eyes to fire, but

he'd shoot them from behind.

"We are concerned," Rev Lewis said, "about the statements and inferences, which can be drawn and which some people have already drawn from these statements."

"A number of people expressed concern with the Prime Minister's statements," he said, "and the inferences that they have drawn."

"We had a letter from one party about it only today (yesterday). We have looked at it and decided to write to the Prime Minister to explain his comments."

Asked how successfully was the Council's efforts to contact the PNM on their position on the code of ethics (since their absence at the meeting called by the Council last Thursday), he said the party said it had stated "publicly and clearly" it was in agreement with the code.

A PNM spokesman said last night "there was a possibility that the matter would be discussed at a general council meeting of the party this Sunday, after which an official statement will be issued."

Port-of-Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English 18 Jul 86 pp 1, 58

[By Ria Taftt]

[Text]

**"INTELLECTUAL dishonesty!"**  
**This is how the general secretary of the People's National Movement has labelled the attempt to relate the Prime Minister's recent statements to race.**

Similarly the PNM Youth League has described the attempt as "wicked and opportunistic." "Certain sections of the community" did not mean certain races of the community, the League asserted.

In an interview with the *Express* yesterday, PNM's general secretary, Alvan Quamina, said he was at a loss to understand why the PNM was being accused of having contradicted its agreement to the code of ethics. Quamina was responding to some of the "inferences" and "concerns" expressed as a result of Chambers' statements at a special youth conference at Pleasantville Senior Comprehensive last Sunday, that what was happening by way of coalitions was part of a grand design to wrest power from a certain section of the society.

Quamina explained the context in which the Prime Minister's statements should have been viewed.

"The PNM has followed consistently a policy of making it possible for people of the country to control the commanding heights of the economy. It has accomplished this in various ways, but it has resulted in the displacement of certain entrenched elements."

"It is natural for these entrenched elements to consistently resist this displacement. And it is in this context that the Political Leader was speaking on Sunday. To attempt to stretch his statements to mean race is being intellectually dishonest. Particularly since the PNM is the only party which includes all groups or interests in the society."

Quamina also responded to the allegation of violence made in respect of the Prime Minister's statements that he did not wait for the white of his political opponents' eyes before he fired, but that he'd shot them from behind.

"In our society the rank and file members can differentiate between a campaign oriented statement and a serious threat."

"One wonders why the Christian Council has not sought to investigate statements made by John Humphrey, in and out of Parliament, threatening to shoot members of the Government and the party."

The Youth League in its release argued that racial solidarity and inter-racial harmony had been a plank of the party from 1956 to now. The League added that Trinidad and Tobago was seen "locally, regionally and internationally," as "a showpiece of racial harmony" and "has no parallel in the world."

It stressed that both the People's Charter and the Chaguarmas Declaration underscored the PNM's commitment to the integration of the diverse races.

On the allegations of violence, the League observed it was "strange" the newspapers and others were concerned about Chambers and not about the many threats of violence, emanating from opposition sources.

Said the League: "Some Government Ministers have been earmarked for the 'hangman's noose' while others, during debate in our august Parliament, have been threatened with physical violence. Opposition members have suggested the 'firing squad' for the entire Cabinet and others arrogantly flout the law in false empathy with certain sections of the community. Others have even made direct racist statements on the national television."

"These threats of violence and flagrant disrespect for the law have been greeted by the media with a silence that is alarmingly deafening. Yet, the opposition hierarchy has the temerity to tell the people of Trinidad and Tobago that the PNM is resorting to a campaign of racism and violence."

#### PNM Youth League's Stand

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 18 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Clevon Raphael]

[Text]

YOUTH League of the ruling People's National Movement (PNM) has stoutly defended the party's Political Leader (Prime Minister) George Chambers from charges of racism levelled against him following his address to the League on Sunday.

And the party's General Secretary Alvan Quamina also lashed out at critics of the Prime Minister's statement that there was a grand

design to wrest political power from a certain section of the community.

The party's Youth Officer (Male) Morris Marshall and Mr Quamina have branded the charge dishonest and said that nobody bothered to take on threats of violence emanating from opposition politicians.

Pointing out that the League strongly objected to inferences by those in opposition to the PNM, Mr Marshall argued that the history of the party was one of racial solidarity and inter-racial harmony.

(The Opposition National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) labelled Mr Chambers's statement as racist and the Christian Council of Trinidad and Tobago has written Mr Chambers asking him to clarify that remark). See Page 3.

Quoting the party's constitution to back up his contention that the PNM stood for racial harmony, Mr Marshall added the PNM was not concerned with colour, race or creed, but the ability of our people to contribute to the process of national development.

Mr Marshall, a secondary school teacher who is emerging as one of the PNM's platform speakers, con-

tinued:

"The PNM has built a strong nation where racial tensions, common to other countries with a similar cosmopolitan composition, do not exist.

### Bid For Power

"The League shudders to think that after 30 years of constructive PNM government, some political aspirants to national leadership, will stoop to pluck the issue of racism from its murky depths to which it has been consigned by our party, in another of their vain attempts to seize power in this country.

"Strangely, the newspapers and others are concerned about what seems to us to be a statement of opinion by Mr Chambers that appears to have national consensus, but not about the many threats of violence emanating from opposition sources."

Mr Marshall claimed some Government Ministers had been "earmarked" for the hangman's noose while others were threatened with violence in Parliament.

"These threats of violence and flagrant disrespect for the law have been greeted by the news media with a silence that is alarmingly deafening.

"Yet, the opposition hierarchy has the temerity to tell the people of Trinidad and Tobago that the PNM is resorting to a campaign of racism and violence."

Recalling that the PNM has won successive general elections since 1956 without any bloodshed, murders or rioting, Mr Marshall emphasised:

"The PNM's Youth League strongly condemns these utterances of violence, and racism, and wish to state categorically that this party has never been associated with this approach to any issue in Trinidad and Tobago nor has it ever espoused the use of violence in election campaigns.

"The League has concluded that the success of the recent youth conference which more than 2,500 young people attended, has scared the opposition forces out of their wits, totally."

Mr Quamina said it was well known that the PNM always espoused the concept and worked towards the realisation of the people of the country, control of the commanding heights of the economy.

"This has been realised in a number of areas which means that certain entrenched vested interests were displaced and these interests do not like to be displaced," he said.

### Chambers' Silence

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 23 Jul 86 p 20

[Article by Gail Alexander]

[Text]

THE CHRISTIAN Council of Trinidad and Tobago (CCTT) is still awaiting a reply from Prime Minister George Chambers to a letter the Council wrote him a week ago.

The CCTT wrote Mr. Chambers last Wednesday asking him to clarify two statements he made at the PNM Youth League conference on July 13.

Council members said that his statements — one pertaining to a certain grand design, and another concerning his method of politics — were viewed as a breach of the Code of Conduct which the CCTT has proposed for the forthcoming general election.

Chairman of the CCTT, Dr. Kingsley Lewis, said yesterday that so far there has been no response from

Whitehall to the Council's letter. He added:

"We have not received an acknowledgement either, but we are hopeful that our letter will be considered and answered soon. The Council sees it as a serious matter."

Another member of the CCTT, Anglican Bishop Clive Abdulah, also drew attention to certain comments made by a senior PNM Youth League officer in defence of Mr. Chambers's statements.

Youth League Officer (Male) Morris Marshall claimed in a statement on the issue last Friday that Government Ministers had received threats of violence in Parliament, but that very little had been made of such situations.

### Not Retroactive

Bishop Abdulah said yesterday:

"To me, it seems that people think the proposed Code of Conduct is retroactive. It isn't. And it really pertains to the atmosphere for the forthcoming general elections, not to utterances made in Parliament."

He added:

"We are certainly hopeful of receiving a response from the Prime Minister, one can only be courteous, and, similarly, we must preserve certain standards."

The comments made by Prime Minister Chambers at the PNM Youth League meeting had also drawn strong criticism from the National Alliance for Reconstruction. The party wrote the CCTT last week urging the Council to use its power to have all political parties adhere to the proposed Code of Conduct.

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CSO: 3298/514

NAR PUSHES ELECTION CAMPAIGN; AGENDA DETAILS REPORTED

'Spot' Meetings

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 18 Jul 86 p 13

[Text]

ARIMA — FIFTY-TWO "spot" meetings each lasting 30 minutes highlighted the NAR campaign in Arima, Brazil Village, San Raphael, Talparo and Las Lomas last Saturday. Senator Lincoln Myers led the battery of speakers which included Alderman Mervyn Assam, Chairman of the East St George County Council, Councillor Jenson Fox of the City Council, County Councillor Harry Goodial, (Brazil-Talparo-San Raphael) and Fabister "Chubby" David. Four teams comprising more than 80 NAR members moved through Arima and its environs, speaking on the party's strategy for change and nation-building. The final meeting was held at Santa Rosa Heights, Arima. Arima constituency officials are accelerating the training programme for canvassing teams to operate on weekends, mainly on house-to-house visits. The "blitz" wagon is to roll through Toco and Manzanilla this weekend.

Human Rights Policy

Port-of-Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English 25 Jul 86 p 5

[Text]

THE ESTABLISHMENT of a Caribbean Commission on Human Rights is one of the proposals contained in the National Alliance for Reconstruction's (NAR's) new policy document, *Platform for Change: An Agenda for the Future*, soon to be published. There was much conjecture during the recent Caricom Heads of Government Conference in Guyana as to whether such a body might be established. Prime Minister George Chambers told reporters then he would have no problem with a human rights body, but it was not on the agenda for discussion. "The NAR is unrelenting in its commitment to democracy," the policy document states. "The subversion of the democratic processes anywhere in our region is an assault upon the fundamental human and civil rights of our people and a threat to our own democratic framework." The intention of the Commission would be to protect the region's people and democratic institutions. NAR would place the formation of a Caribbean Court of Appeal on the national and regional agenda.



Port-of-Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English 25 Jul 86 p 45

[Text]

A NEW tax regime, re-direction of state enterprises, and investment and revolving funds would be specific initiatives in the National Alliance for Reconstruction's (NAR's) national economic recovery plan.

Re-ordering of public capital expenditure to support infrastructural development, self-help for utility services, and demand management to increase the demand of the national economy are also recommended in the NAR's new *Agenda for the Future*.

The *Agenda* has been considered by the party's executive and is to be

ratified by the National Council this weekend after further discussion.

The economic recovery plan, as opposed to a longer-term economic transformation programme, would focus on the creation of jobs and the widening of the national economic base.

The transformation of the economy would be aimed at reducing the "external vulnerability" of the economy, now "trapped within cycles of boom and bust."

Among the changes in personal taxation proposed are individual relief of \$12,000 per annum, no tax on interest payments of up to \$5,000 on savings ac-

counts and tax exemption on pension payments of up to \$5,000 a year.

Lower corporation taxes are also included.

The "excess capacity of the construction sector and the great potential of the agricultural sector" could be the foundation of an immediate employment and production plan, the policy statement suggests.

This would be supported by the creation of sub-sectors in the energy-based industries, whose viability should be assured by the local market.

A housing programme based on the *Sou Sou*

Land concept (integrating finance, idle capacity and social need), together with large irrigation and drainage programmes (with priority given to infrastructural works outlined in the Caroni River Basin Study), would form the basis of the NAR's employment and production plan.

The policy document suggests limitation of the activities of Caroni Ltd to the production of sugar and its immediate by-products. A new Caroni agro-industrialisation programme based on the approach of the Spence Committee is what is required, it says.

/9274

CSO: 3298/514

LOCAL ELECTIONS IN 1986 RULED OUT

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 25 Jul 86 p 1

[Text]

IT'S definite — Local Government elections will not be held in 1986. A Bill seeking to extend the life of the seven county councils and four municipalities will be laid in the House of Representatives at today's sitting starting 1 30 p.m.

The extension sought is for a period of up to one year.

It does not affect the Tobago House of Assembly which operates under separate legislation and elections to that body are due in 1988.

Although the life of the 11 bodies

end on August 8, there is no fixed time to hold elections after that date.

An official source explained yesterday:

"These bodies have certain functions to perform and they cannot do so if they do not have the legal authority to do so, hence the need to go to Parliament to extend the life of these bodies.

"Deferring of the elections as everyone knows is nothing new and one of the main factors influencing

this action is that the Elections and Boundaries Commission cannot physically cope with holding two national elections close to each other... be they one, two, three, four or even five months apart."

This has been interpreted in political circles to mean that General Elections will be held in Trinidad and Tobago this year.

About one month ago the opposition National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) in a statement called for the holding of the Local Government elections in 1986.

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CSO: 3298/514

PNM YOUTH LEAGUE CONFERENCE ENDS; SPEECHES REPORTED

Chambers on NAR 'In-Fighting'

FL142156 Bridgetown CANA in English 2137 GMT 14 Jul 86

[Excerpt] Port-of-Spain, 24 Jul (CANA)--Prime Minister George Chambers predicts in-fighting in the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR)--a merger of four opposition groups--should it win the next general election.

Chambers told the youth wing of his People's National Movement (PNM) that the NAR was only part of a grand design to wrest power from certain sectors in Trinidad and Tobago.

The worst possible political calamity which can befall Trinidad and Tobago is the mistake of voting into power an alliance, an accommodation, a coalition or an association of all, he said.

And if you really want to see war, said Chambers, (it is) in a coalition, or an accommodation or an alliance, if they win.

Support for Party

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 15 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Clewon Raphael]

[Text]

PEOPLE'S National Movement "soldiers" are ready for the "enemies" in the forthcoming general election.

That was the clear conclusion following Sunday's highly emotional special conference staged by the party's youth league.

The organisers worked assiduously over the past few months to ensure that the message was driven home -- the PNM was not a party of old stagers.

League executives Morris Marshall, Richard Walcott, and Joslyn McLeod-Smith were happy with the excellent turnout which was a liberal blend of the young.

Mrs Smith boasted there was a total of 1,965 "young" registrants.

The mood for the day's exuber-

ance was set by Energy Minister Patrick Manning, who in his capacity as parliamentary representative for San Fernando East, formally opened the programme.

He concluded his address with the advice:

"PNM youths, on your mark..." in obvious reference to the upcoming general election, date of which is still to be announced.

Show Of Strength

Although Prime Minister George Chambers, in his role as the party's Political Leader, warned he was not making a political speech -- as yet -- there was no doubt that the affair was a show of strength and a morale booster in the days, weeks, months (who knows?) preceding the announcement of the date.

It had all the ingredients of a campaign meeting.

When Mr Chambers was delivering his address — which he laced with picing — he referred to the earlier years when campaigning was done on bicycle.

Today, he said, as a testimony to the prosperity the PNM had brought the country, there were party motorcades.

One lady in the aisles of the Pleasantville Senior Secondary School shouted

"This year we campaigning in aeroplane." (laughter)

Even National Security Minister Overand Padmore could not resist the election bug when he counted — and drew it to the attention of the media representatives — each occasion Mr Chambers was applauded.

The final tally, according to Mr Padmore was 25 times!

One or two speakers from the floor, indulging in other electioneering antics, accused other politicians

of wrong doings and of being strangers to the truth.

External Affairs Minister Errol Mahabir, apart from Mr Chambers, is a marked contrast to the worked up fervour of the audience and other speakers, delivered a sober talk on local and international issues.

### Impact On Future

"Today each of you young people has the opportunity and the responsibility to assist in shaping this young nation of ours, and in the process to even make an impact on the future course of the world.

"But youth is naturally impatient and you have a strong desire to see your rising expectations realised."

He advised the young people in the audience to avoid the arrogance which longevity in power (PNM has been in office since 1956) tended to encourage.

### More on Speeches

Port-of-Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English 16 Jul 86 p 6

['News Analysis' by Ria Taitt: "PNM Youths Come Out in Full Force for Special Conference"]

[Text]

"The future of the PNM is assured." This is what Energy Minister, Patrick Manning felt when he looked at the crowds that flocked to San Fernando this weekend for the special conference of the Youth League of the People's National Movement.

Manning who was introduced as "one of the young members" in the government, opened the conference on a high note. Manning issued a challenge to youths to give the lie to the statement often used by "detractors" that youth people did not support the PNM. "Is that true?" Manning asked. "No," the enthusiastic crowd shouted.

Youth League chairman, Andy Roberts stated the league's firm belief that only the PNM government had the ability to manage the affairs of this country and only the PNM party had the will and the necessary revolutionary spirit to bring the changes for this present age. The youths were ready to defend the labour of their parents.

Discussions on the issue of integrity showed that the youths felt the Opposition was hypocritical in its stand because in 1976 it supported the very ideas it now criticised. The resolution passed on integrity expressed the league's firm support for the government "in its determination to ensure integrity in public affairs."

In this process, a poll done by this paper, showing that the PNM ranked far behind the National Alliance for Reconstruction in terms of support both from the youths as well as adults, was casually dismissed. "The poll is not how people

vote, it is to how to influence people to vote," said Morris Marshall, youth officer.

He argued too that there was no way the opposition group could last. "It is we who made them in 1976 and it is we will break them," he said strongly.

But Marshall believed that the PNM was not a perfect institution. The new vision for the party demanded a serious organisation which was more aggressive and dynamic in its posture, he contended.

No passivity, he declared, "so that we can take the fight to them (the opposition party) in a way that they have never seen. It is a new PNM and those who cannot fit in, take aside and let those who can." If the party were to forge ahead in the way that it wanted, it had to examine its weaknesses, he warned.

"We stand ready." This was the theme of the conference and in an explanation written by the league's education officer, Donna Powell, the league stated the basis of its readiness. "We Stand Ready" to promote the aims and objectives of the PNM; to defend the policies of the PNM Government; to rally behind our political leader and prime minister; to be active participants in every sphere of party life and to work for the success of the PNM in the up-coming General Elections.

Prime Minister and political leader, George Chambers to the end of the day was forced to say that the youth league was presenting a serious challenge to the women's league, which was traditionally seen as the mainstay of the party and he conceded there was nothing wrong with the challenge.

# POLICE COMMISSIONER BURROUGHS FACING CRIMINAL CHARGES

## Report on Arraignment

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 23 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Evans K. Greene]

[Text]

**POLICE COMMISSIONER** Randolph Burroughs appeared in the Port-of-Spain First District Court yesterday to face four charges linked with the death of two men at Lady Young Road, Morvant, in 1983. Two other charges relate to the unloading of a pirogue of cocaine and marijuana at Carli Bay, Couva, in 1985.

It is alleged that he aided four men in unloading the pirogue some time between February 20 and March 31. He is also accused of inciting the four to traffic in a narcotic.

Mr Burroughs is also charged with incitement to murder and is accused of planting weapons near the bodies of two men at Lady Young Road, Morvant, in October 1983.

Senior Magistrate Conrad Roach read the charges, noting that they were laid indictably and the Police Commissioner was therefore not called upon to plead.

Selwyn Richardson, former Attorney General, said he was representing Mr Burroughs, led by Senior Counsel Dr. Aeneas Wills and Theodore Guerra.

Acting Assistant Director of Public Prosecutions Clyde Constantine told the court that he was representing the State. It is understood that Senior Counsel Michael Delabastide will lead the prosecution during the preliminary inquiry, due to start July 30 in Port-of-Spain.

A Couva court will start hearing on July 28 of two drugs-related charges linking the Commissioner with Sham Ramlochan, Mohan Ramlochan, Dole Chadee and Cuthbert Charles at Carli Bay early last year.

Lawyers in the court spent some time discussing the date for start of the hearings.

The State representative suggested that the four charges relating to the death of two men at Lady Young Road, Morvant, in 1983 be heard from August 4, proceeding daily.

The magistrate suggested July 29 and defence lawyer Mr Guerra said he was agreeable to this date. Mr Richardson felt, however, that the Police should be ready. He said that the defence was prepared to start

right away.

The magistrate observed that he had two dates in mind, July 24 or July 29. It was finally decided to start hearings on July 30.

Earlier, Mr Richardson told the magistrate that up to yesterday morning Mr Burroughs did not get a copy of the charges. Mr Burroughs was told that he was arrested by warrant and could not get a copy of the charges, his lawyer told the court.

## Call From Ministry

Commissioner Burroughs received a call from the Ministry of National Security around 6 p.m. on Monday, to come for discussions. He met three Police officers and acting Permanent Secretary Ronald Cuffy at the Knox Street office. He was told of the charges there.

He was escorted to Police Headquarters where the warrants were executed before a Justice of the Peace. Mr Burroughs was released after \$300,000 bail was posted by Max Senhouse, Chairman of the Public Transport Service Corporation.

Mr Burroughs received shouts of encouragement from bystanders as he left the court at NIPDEC House yesterday morning. His only comment to a reporter in the crowd was: "All things work together for good to those that love the Lord. The Lord is my shepherd."

The Police Commissioner's arrest came 12 days before he was due to resume duties after his leave.

Meanwhile it is understood that Mr Burroughs cannot perform any of the duties of the Commissioner of Police.

While he still retains the title of Commissioner, he cannot carry out any of the activities or functions related to the post pending the outcome of the trial.



## List of Charges

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 23 Jul 86 p 1

[Text]

1. Sometime between February 20, and March 31, 1985, at Carli Bay, Couva did unlawfully incite Sham Ramlochan, Mohan Ramlochan, Dole Chadee and Cuthbert Charles to traffic in a narcotic. Contrary to Common Law

2. On a day between February 20 and March 31, 1985 misconducted himself in the public office of Commissioner of Police by assisting Sham Ramlochan, Mohan Ramlochan, Dole Chadee and Cuthbert Charles in unloading from a pirogue at Carli Bay, Couva, a cargo of what he knew or reasonably suspected to be cocaine and marijuana and by wilfully and without reasonable excuse or justification neglecting to perform his duty to arrest the said Sham Ramlochan, Mohan Ramlochan, Dole Chadee and Cuthbert Charles on reasonable suspicion of being in possession of narcotics. Contrary to Common Law.

3. On or about October 4, 1983 at

Flying Squad office, St James Barracks, Port-of-Spain, solicited, encouraged, persuaded or endeavoured to persuade or proposed to Reynold Craig to murder Claude Garraway, contrary to S.5 (b) of the Offences Against the Person Act Chap. 11:08.

4. On or about October 5, 1983 at Lady Young Road, Morvant, an officer or officers under his command having committed an arrestable offence namely the unlawful killing of Claude Garraway, knowing or believing that the said officer or officers had committed the said offence or some other arrestable offence then, without lawful authority or excuse planted a sub-machine gun near the body of the said Claude Garraway with intent to impede the apprehension or prosecution of the said officer or officers.

5. On or about October 5, 1983 at Lady Young Road, Morvant with intent to pervert the course of public justice in that he planted weapons

namely a sub-machine gun and a revolver beside the bodies of two men, namely Claude Garraway and Andre Ronald Ling also called David Charles respectively who had to his knowledge been killed by an officer or officers under his command. Contrary to Common Law.

6. On or about October 5, 1983 at Lady Young Road, Morvant an officer or officers under his command having committed an arrestable offence namely the unlawful killing of Andre Ronald Ling also called David Charles knowing or believing that the said officer or officers had committed the said offence or some other arrestable offence then, without lawful authority or excuse planted a revolver near the body of the said Andre Ronald Ling also called David Charles with intent to impede the apprehension or prosecution of the said officer or officers. Contrary to S.5(1) of the Criminal Law Act Ch. 10:04.

## Suspension of Powers

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 24 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Gail Alexander]

[Text]

POLICE Commissioner Randolph Burroughs has not yet received any notice of suspension, according to reliable sources close to him.

This was disclosed yesterday following speculation that the Police Commissioner, who faces six indictable charges, has been officially stripped of his powers.

Mr Burroughs appeared in the Port-of-Spain First District Court on Tuesday to face four charges relating to the death of two men on the Lady Young Road, Morvant, in 1983.

Two others concern the unloading of a pirogue of cocaine and marijuana at Carli Bay, Couva in 1985.

While Mr Burroughs still retains the title of "Commissioner" he cannot perform the duties of the office or carry out any functions related to the post pending the outcome of the trial.

However sources close to him stressed yesterday that Mr Burroughs has not received any notice of suspension.

It is also understood that the Police Commissioner has not been asked to vacate his official residence at the St James Barracks.

Yesterday a stream of visitors to the Commissioner's home kept the sentry on duty well occupied.

Sources close to Mr Burroughs described the Police Commissioner as being "relaxed" and "well com-

forted by the support of members of the public."

On Tuesday night, a Mass was said for him at the St Margaret's Anglican Church in Belmont.

It is also understood that an emergency meeting of the Second Division Police Officers Association was held yesterday to discuss the situation concerning Mr. Burroughs.

Mr Burroughs was arrested on Monday evening 12 days before he was due to resume duties after his leave. He was granted bail on the six charges totalling \$300,000.

The preliminary inquiry will begin in Port-of-Spain on July 30, while the two drug-related charges will be heard in the Couva District court from July 28.

Mr Burroughs's defence is being conducted by Senior Counsel Dr. Aeneas Wills, former Attorney General Selwyn Richardson and Theodore Guerra.

## Additional Arrests

Port of Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English 24 Jul 86 pp 1, 2

[Text]

AT LEAST two or three other arrests are now anticipated in the wake of investigations conducted by Barrister Desmond Allum arising out of the Scott Drug Report.

Even as Director of Public Prosecutions, Clebert Brooks, hinted at this, Magistrate Conrad Roach yesterday adjourned the matter against Police Constables Allan Andrews and Learie Barrington until July 30.

The two constables were arrested and charged by Superintendent David Jack, head of the Narcotics Squad. It is understood that the charges stem from the Drug Report. Reliable sources told the *Express* yesterday more arrests were expected, following a six-count indictment laid against Police Commissioner Randolph Burroughs on Monday.

But as the *Express* continued to be deluged by rumours yesterday — ranging from the "house arrest" of more than one Government official to varying numbers of policemen placed under arrest, both of these unconfirmed — it was clear that the DPP was fully back in the picture after weeks of investigations by Allum. It is understood not only was Brooks consulted by Allum, but he also approved the charges laid against Burroughs and against two policemen, who have subsequently been charged.

Andrews alone appeared in the First Port of Spain Magistrates' Court, NIPDEC House,

where the charges laid against him, as well as Barrington, were read to him. Andrews, who was charged for perjury and conspiracy was granted \$100,000 bail — \$50,000 on each charge. Barrington was granted \$50,000 bail.

State Counsel Cheryl Charles appeared on behalf of the prosecution. Andrews appeared unrepresented and Barrington did not appear in court.

The charge laid against Andrews and Barrington:

● Some time between October 5, 1983, and April 10, 1984, at Port of Spain, they did conspire with each other and Police Constables Kenrick Wright and Reynold Craig to pervert the course of justice, in that they agreed amongst themselves to submit statements to the police officer investigating the death of Claude Garraway and Andre Ronald Ling, also called David Charles, falsely representing that the said Claude Garraway and Andre Ronald Ling, also called David Charles, had drawn guns and fired them, at a police party comprising Police Constables Allan Andrews, Learie Barrington, Kenrick Wright and Reynold Craig at a trace off the Lady Young Road on the morning of October 5, 1983, contrary to common law.

The second charge

against Andrews:

● On or about May 10, 1984, at Port of Spain,

he did commit the offence of perjury, in that having been lawfully sworn as a witness in a judicial proceeding, namely an inquest touching the deaths of Claude Garraway and Andre Ronald Ling, also called David Charles, wilfully made a statement, material in that proceeding, which he knew to be false;

Mainly that, on the morning of October 5, 1983, at a trace off Lady Young Road, Police Constable Learie Barrington shouted, "Claude Garraway and David Charles, this is the police, stop!" and that thereupon the said Claude Garraway and the said Andre Ronald Ling, also called David Charles, produced guns and fired them, contrary to Section 4(1) of the Perjury Act Chapter 11 No. 14.

## Public Prosecutors' Remarks

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 25 Jul 86 p 1

[Text]

DIRECTOR of Public Prosecutions (DPP) Clebert Brooks has denied a newspaper report that he had indicated more arrests were to be made in the Scott Drug Report affair.

"That was a totally incorrect and a blatant lie," he said yesterday as he commented on the story in the newspaper (not the Trinidad Guardian) which appeared yesterday.

It was reported that the entire exercise relating to investigations into the Drug Report was the domain of Special Counsel Desmond Allum and the two other lawyers appointed to assist him.

Arising out of these investigations, Commissioner of Police Randolph Burroughs and Police Const-

able Allan Andrews were arrested and placed on a number of criminal charges. A warrant has been issued for the arrest of another Police Constable.

A legal source explained yesterday:

"The business of investigating and instituting legal action is the principal business of the Allum team, only they would know who are to be arrested and how many."

Mr Brooks, however, said that he was consulted on the arrest of Mr Burroughs and the two other policemen, after the Allum team had completed their investigations on these cases.

In keeping with the Constitution, he had to give the final approval

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CSO: 3298/514

PAPIL ASSAILS UNION LEADER WEEKES AS 'FIGUREHEAD'

Curepe THE BOMB in English 11 Jul 86 p 24

[Article: "Say Goodbye, George!"]

[Text]

IT'S WELL past time for George Weekes, President-General of the once-powerful OWTU to resign.

George has served his time and has done well, but the greying doddering PG who is clocking an unconfirmed 70 years, has had his day and should step down and make way for a younger, experienced person.

Georgie has been noticeably absent from several public functions within the past months, and excuses about his failing health have been fed to the public.

The man, who is said to be following in the footsteps of the late great Tubal Uriah 'Buzz' Butler in the labour movement, was nowhere near, as the various trade unions, other working class members and supporters converged in their hundreds in Fyzabad,

on June 19, to celebrate Labour Day.

Weekes was said to be ailing and could not make it, so he sent his wife, Theresa, with a prepared speech to tell the audience (mainly OWTU supporters) that although he was not there with them in body, he was there in spirit.

His absence from this celebration was most significant, since Weekes never missed Labour Day celebrations in Fyzabad.

In fact, he was most vociferous in getting June 19 to be observed as a public holiday to commemorate Labour Day.

Several months ago, he was again absent when the OWTU held a memorial service for Butler at the OWTU Hall in Fyzabad.

Even his 100,000-strong following in the OWTU, is becoming disenchanted with the

excuses for Weekes' absence in their strike camps and at mass union meetings.

They say the man who has been holding the fort is Errol Mc Cleod, first vice-president of the union, who has hopes of becoming PG when Weekes steps down.

About two years ago, Weekes pulled an Eric Williams on the gullible OWTU followers when he announced he was resigning.

He named Mc Cleod as his successor and was all set to step down when he changed his mind and stated publicly that his followers had begged him to remain at the helm.

Mc Cleod was stomped, but counteracted this by claiming he was not perturbed, since he was instrumental in getting

Comrade Weekes to stay.

But now more than ever, with the unfavourable economic climate and workers sitting on a time bomb where their jobs are concerned, they are becoming disenchanted with Weekes who has become more of a figurehead than a leader.

With his senatorial position, the union members are saying he would clear the way for them, but now George seems not to care two hoots.

This disenchantment is even causing a rift in the executive of the union, with a lot of infighting and backbiting to dethrone the PG.

Whether he would resign with grace or be dethroned will only be known when we cross that bridge ... and that could be very soon.

UNIONS IN CONFLICT, APPEAL TO LABOR CONGRESS

Clash Over Representation

Port-of-Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English 18 Jul 86 p 52

[Text]

THE Council of Progressive Trade Unions (CPTU) has complained to the Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress, that one of its affiliates, the Amalgamated Workers' Union, has been trying to win over workers from one of its affiliates.

The CPTU says that AWU has been trying to get workers at Bermudez Biscuit Company, whose workers are currently represented by the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union to join it. The CPTU complained that AWU has been telling workers at the company,

that the company will never recognise the OWTU again, that the workers will suffer so they should join AWU which will settle negotiations for a new agreement.

The CPTU described this as unethical and dishonest. The CPTU also said that if AWU displaces the OWTU, this will have the effect of cancelling the dispute involving the dismissal of 79 workers, making the negotiations for the collective agreement currently in the Industrial Court for 1983-1986 null and void.

Attempt at Destabilization

Port-of-Spain DAILY EXPRESS in English 25 Jul 86 p 5

[Text]

SELWYN JOHN, general secretary of the National Union of Government and Federated Workers (NUGFW), has called on the Labour Congress to convene an emergency meeting to discuss attempts to destabilise the union.

In a letter dispatched to general secretary of the Congress, Vernon Glean, John referred to a decision taken at a meeting July 10 to "picket and set up a boycott campaign" against Hi-Lo Food Stores.

This action came as a result of a dispute between the Transport and Industrial Workers Union and one of the Neal and Massy companies.

"Our understanding of the decision of the unions," said John, "is that they would lend support to TIWU in its fight with the Neal and Massy Group. However, we have noticed that both TIWU and the other unions in attendance at the meeting have failed to take any action against any of the companies in the Neal and Massy

Group to which TIWU is the recognised union."

NUGFW, the recognised bargaining body for hourly, daily and weekly-paid workers at Hi-Lo Food Stores, is at present engaged in negotiations with the Cannings Group of Companies, which includes Hi-Lo Food Stores, considers such a move a "direct attack."

The general secretary warned that NUGFW "would not stand idly by and allow ill-advised attacks by leaders and unions in an attempt to disrupt and jeopardise the job security of Hi-Lo workers."

John said he was at a loss to know the reason for the attack on the union, but claimed it was "not easy to break us, we have a membership of 44,000 strong."

He said his union had an obligation "to protect every single member in their union, their dignity and job security."

FOOD IMPORTS BILL FOR 1985 DOWN BY \$167 MILLION

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 16 Jul 86 p 4

[Text]

THE 1985 food import bill fell by \$167 million from \$928.8 million in 1976 as a result of a package of measures introduced by the Ministry of Agriculture, Lands and Food Production in 1978.

A report put out by the Ministry on the performance of the agriculture sector for the past 10 years highlighted the White Paper on Agriculture which called for:

- Increased domestic food production in order to increase self-sufficiency, food security and reduce import dependency.
- Promotion and development of

non-traditional export commodities.

- Promotion of proper land use and natural resource conservation.

During the past decade, the report stated, Government distributed a total of \$408.1 million in support of major domestic and export crops. The poultry industry was allotted \$65 million and the livestock feed industry \$424.3 million in price support.

According to the report, the Ministry was considering the possibilities of exporting to Canada and the United States. Seven sample shipments of vegetables, fruits and food crops were shipped to Holland and London. These included hot peppers, okra, dasheen and melongene.

### Stabilised Prices

The report said: "It is noticeable that in respect of the domestic food-/fruit crop sub-sector, the increasing volumes which have come on to the market have resulted in stabilised prices over the past three to five years".

Local production of beef, it added, stabilised at 2.5 million to three million pounds per year. With increased Government assistance the production of hatching eggs increased from 2.7 million eggs to four million in 1985. At present there are three operators. The National Poultry Company supplies about 25 to 30 per cent of current domestic requirements.

However, there has been a decline in the longterm trend of cocoa, coffee and sugar according to the report, since lands under cocoa and coffee were replaced with tropical wood, forests, tropical fruits and foliage and cut flowers.

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CSO: 3298/514



BRIEFS

'DROPPED' PNM CANDIDATES--At least 12 Cabinet Ministers will not be facing the polls in the next General Election. This was indicated yesterday by a PNM source following Sunday's statement by Prime Minister George Chambers that some party members would have to "give way" to others. Mr Chambers, who did not elaborate much, said, however, he was sure to become the most unpopular man in the party over the selection of the party's slate of candidates. The source said: "You will be shocked at the names of these people to be dropped. They have become arrogant in their attitude. They will be asked to give way to young, fresh talent.... "At this stage one cannot say much because everything is in the lap of the Political Leader (Mr Chambers) but prepare yourself for some PNM election shockers." [Text] [Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 15 Jul 86 p 1] /9274

CSO: 3298/514

ALVAREZ PAZ ON COPEI PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION, OTHER ISSUES

Caracas EL DIARIO DE CARACAS in Spanish 30 Jun 86 pp 24-25

[Interview with Oswaldo Alvarez Paz by Rodolfo Schmidt and Usbaldo Arrieta; date and place not given; first six paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Oswaldo Alvarez Paz

He has been part of COPEI for much more than half of his 43 years, 32 of them to be exact. He joined the party as the government of Marcos Perez Jimenez was drawing to a close. He began his political career, which has been described as meteoric, in Maracaibo. It took him only 5 years to become secretary general of COPEI Revolutionary Youth of Zulia State. He managed to combine his studies in the Law Department at the University of Zulia with party activities. He obtained his law degree in 1966, but had already been involved in the institutions of the university's joint government and in 1964 was elected president of the Federation of Centers of the University of Zulia. His colorful political squabbles with his brother Fernando, who then belonged to AD and is currently a MEP [People's Electoral Movement] leader, are well known. According to the political grapevine, he is one of Rafael Caldera's "proteges," so much so that when the great leader met him, "he brought him to Caracas," they say. In 1969 he was elected national secretary general of COPEI Revolutionary Youth and since then he has been a member of the COPEI National Committee. He has represented his state in Congress since 1969 and in 1975 served as the head of the Social Christian bloc in Congress. He is currently chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the lower house. His career is still on the rise, and Miraflores is in his sights...

The nomination battles are about to heat up in COPEI and Democratic Action. Concurrently, differences of opinion are emerging, even within parties, as to how the nation's problems ought to be tackled.

Both of these factors are influencing the behavior and views of the leaders who are being mentioned as virtual presidential hopefuls.

Today, the Primera Pagina section explores the views of Oswaldo Alvarez Paz, a COPEI deputy and member of the party's National Committee, who has been mentioned, along with Eduardo Fernandez, Pedro Pablo Aguilar and Rafael

Caldera himself, as one of the men seeking the Social Christian presidential nomination in 1988.

He does not deny such an ambition. He is merely abiding by his party's rules, waiting for an announcement that the battle for the nomination has begun so that he can openly launch his campaign.

Critical and controversial, Alvarez Paz has been sanctioned for his stands in COPEI. Not one to mince words, like everyone from Maracaibo, he sets forth his positions on developments in COPEI, the country and the Venezuelan family. "When I think something, I say it," Alvarez Paz asserts. Our interview with him shows as much.

### "Backward People" in COPEI

Rodolfo Schmidt: You have repeatedly said that you are not alone in COPEI. What does this statement mean?

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: There has been persistent speculation within the party, which has had an outside impact as well, to the effect that my position is isolated and not in keeping with the thinking of most party leaders and members. That is not the case, and I intend to prove it. I am totally a product of the Social Christian Party, and almost 30 years of active membership have enabled me to become familiar not only with its structures, many of which I have headed, but also with COPEI people. I think that I am in tune with the overwhelming majority of COPEI members, who share many of my positions. [end of answer]

As we mentioned at the outset, Oswaldo Alvarez Paz says that all of this will become clear "as the battle for the nomination moves towards the Social Christian presidential convention."

Usbaldo Arrieta: Your opponents in COPEI say that you are campaigning harder in powerful economic groups than in the party.

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: In the first place, I am not campaigning, either inside or outside the party. I am abiding by the party's instructions on internal elections. What is happening is that I have talked about the need to define a new strategy for domestic economic growth, and this has led to stands in economic and labor sectors and among independents in general. The internal reaction that you have mentioned is, of course, self-interested. Its aim is to discredit not my proposals but my position by claiming that I have an immediate electoral interest in ingratiating myself with segments of big capital. If that was what I was up to, I wouldn't think about offering proposals that could prompt support among wealthy segments of the economy and opposition in the lower-income segment, where the bulk of the voters are. That would be absurd. It is part of a campaign to portray me as an agent of the domestic and international oligarchy, of the Right. Those attacks are from people who have a backward outlook, who believe that we can solve our problems by making more of the same mistakes that have gotten us into the current situation.

Usbaldo Arrieta: Do you feel that there is a faction in COPEI with backward pluralist leanings?

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: Of course there is...

#### The Secretary General

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz was sanctioned for saying certain things. He says that they have still not shown him that the move was justified. He does not discuss the matter; he does not want to, but the next question served as a sort of catalyst:

Rodolfo Schmidt: You said that your proposals were not well received in the COPEI National Committee? What do you think?

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: I think several things, but this does not mean that I am criticizing the National Committee. After we lost the elections, the party was in very bad shape. We had been in power for 5 years and we suffered two serious defeats at the polls. For the first time the support that COPEI had been building up over its almost 40-year existence declined. We dropped off in absolute and percentage terms; we lost senators and deputies on the regional and national levels. I sensed that the country and COPEI members had lost confidence in the party. Someone had to be held accountable for what happened. My opinion is still that after 5 years in power, at the end of which the country and the party were in the shape they were, something has to happen, someone has to be held responsible and corrective steps have to be taken to prevent a repetition. More than once I proposed that at least we guarantee the country that the colleagues who were in charge during that term would cease to have decisive influence in running the party and the country. I also said that we had to determine who specifically was guilty in the well-known cases of alleged administrative corruption.

Usbaldo Arrieta: Do you think that your party suffers from the defect that discussion of fundamental concepts is subordinated to jockeying for position behind potential candidates?

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: Yes. That is the argument that I advanced at the most recent meeting of the party's national board, and I reiterate here that the party's organizational, human and every other kind of resources are being used to further the secretary general's bid for the nomination.

Usbaldo Arrieta: Do you think that Eduardo Fernandez should resign as secretary general?

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: I think that he was elected party secretary general for 5 years. I think that the party needs a full-time secretary general...

#### En Route to the Convention

As we know, COPEI has held its presidential conventions in the huge building, called the Polyhedron, that Rafael Caldera inaugurated in La Rinconada. Oswaldo Alvarez Paz has his gaze fixed on it.

Rodolfo Schmidt: I get the impression that you have insinuated that the presidential convention represents the spirit of COPEI's members better than the party machine does. Do you plan to wage your battle for the nomination within the machine or at the presidential convention?

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: The machine carries weight in the presidential convention but is not the most important element in making the required decision. COPEI is much more than a machine, because there are a great many COPEI members and leaders who have occupied and occupy positions of responsibility and who have a statutory right to attend the presidential convention. Many independents who represent and head various sectors of the country have the same right. The convention has been designed to prevent the election of a machine candidate and to bring together a sampling of the entire country. The convention brings together between 10,000 and 12,000 people.

Rodolfo Schmidt: Securing the support of two-thirds of that constituency demands hard work, and it has been observed that you lack drive and dedication.

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: I'm involved in this because I have so far not found anyone who represents the things in which I believe. I have tried to influence the party leadership to move in a certain direction and to raise certain banners that I regard as fundamental in an organization like ours, and I have not had the success that I expected. When this happens, one withdraws or fights. I have taken the second path; it could lead to the nomination, and I have the impression that the trend is in that direction. I have not heard people say that I lack drive. What they say is that I am relaxed, and these are people with whom I was involved in party battles and campaigns until recently, and we know each other quite well. The fact is that I do not do unnecessary things. I do not suffer from the disease that some have, that sort of inefficient hyperactivity, where they always have to be seen so that others will sense that they are there.

Usbaldo Arrieta: The opinion polls indicate that Eduardo Fernandez has a good image as a candidate. What will you do to overcome his advantage over you?

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: The latest polls that I have seen, in the last few days in fact, show Rafael Caldera as the best liked COPEI hopeful, the one who is most popular among the people, far ahead of Eduardo Fernandez or any other candidate. It is odd that they have not been publicized. But the problem of the polls does not concern me in the least. Neither the extent of my struggle nor the intensity of my efforts are conditioned by the numbers in the polls. It's not that I don't believe in them or look down on them, because they provide information and help to orient one's efforts. I repeat that I am not yet campaigning. In due time, when the party so authorizes, I will campaign very hard and I am certain that the numbers will change, and a great deal, among other things because polls reflect a given moment, which is readily changeable, as are all trends in society.



## Enhancing Democracy

Political leaders repeatedly complain about the shortcomings in our democracy. Their ambitions for the nomination aside, there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of their concerns. What the people are asking for is resolve, action, not just words.

Rodolfo Schmidt: The lack of clear-cut stands by a party also implies a lack of objectives. What objectives should COPEI offer the country at present, including a campaign platform?

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: I still maintain with wearisome insistence that the party must define fundamental policies. All the parties have shortcomings and are failing to define serious options for resolving problems. In the case of our party, even if we rightly criticize the government, we are not united on fundamental issues. The criticisms that I am voicing of COPEI could also be leveled at another party. Exactly the same is the case in AD, not to mention the Left. All of this is creating horizontal common ground across parties, above and beyond vertical common cause. People from different parties seem to be in agreement and to share positions on specific issues. When this starts to happen in a country, major changes are on the way.

COPEI's primary objective today should be to enhance our democracy, to spur the country towards the democratic ideal as defined in the National Constitution. There we have set forth for us a model for a political and social system. The problem is that institutionally we are back in 1961. I think that the parties are worse. The Executive Branch, the administration is worse than in 1961; it is more bureaucratized, more inefficient, more interventionist and more corrupt. The legislature branch is worse; Congress fails to legislate or legislates poorly and at the wrong time, it does not investigate or monitor, even less so now that the majority is blocking the way. And let's not even talk about the Judiciary. By now it is superfluous and pointless to talk about the partisan political and financial interference that stems from a wide variety of corrupt practices.

In short, the process of democratization has come to a halt. Every day it is harder to become involved.

### The Great National Cause

It is a temptation. Observing how a politician discusses the country's situation, one cannot help but ask him to reveal the recipe, the prescription that in his judgment will finally bring things back to normal.

Rodolfo Schmidt: How can we see to it that the spirit of the constitution is really enforced?

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: I think that we are familiar with the minimum diagnoses to make the corrections that will enable the country to return to the path indicated in the constitution. We know what the problems are; they have been studied in depth, and several answers have even been envisioned. What we need is strong resolve; what we need, above and beyond ideologies or the platforms

put together to comply with the campaign ritual, is to develop a basic platform that will bring people together to solve these problems. The fact is that we have gotten into this situation as a result of a culture in which political and economic power has become concentrated in a very few hands. And any change in the three branches of government, in the structure of the parties conspires against that culture; so, there is resistance to keep things as they are.

Rodolfo Schmidt: Is the Great National Cause that you are supposedly heading indispensable for this purpose?

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: I am working to put together this Great National Cause. If it takes shape, if it emerges as an option with well-defined goals, with a clear-cut strategy to achieve them, then anyone could head up such an effort, although of course I would be delighted to because I'm working for this, because I believe in this cause.

Rodolfo Schmidt: Would support for the Great National Cause come from the sectors that you say are on horizontal common ground?

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz: That would be ideal. Nevertheless, I think that this role belongs to COPEI and that it is up to the party to play it, to meet the historical challenge now before it.

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